

**FOCUS**  
MIDWEST

70



*Some of the Causes of*

# POVERTY

*in Missouri*

(See Companion Issue No. 51 for related articles.)

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# OUT OF FOCUS

*(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)*

Unemployment rose more in Greater Kansas City in late 1970 than it did in most cities across the nation, dropping the area to 112th among 150 metropolitan areas. In a 12-city regional ranking, Greater Kansas City (with an unemployment rate of 5.3%) was second from bottom, St. Louis (with a 4.7% rate) was third, and Chicago (with a 3.3% rate) was fourth from the top. If it were not for Wichita (with a 9.6% rate) and its ailing aircraft industry, Kansas City would have been the lowest.

The Brotherhood of Black Packinghouse Workers requested that its union establish January 15th as a holiday of the birthday of Martin Luther King. This request was made at the time of negotiation of the October contract. Even though Krey and Teamsters Local 700 agreed to the Martin Luther King holiday, Local 545 and Local 2 turned it down, and selected another day. The Packer's Industry Local 545 is 50% Black with white officers. Local 2 is all white.

State salaries in Missouri are so low that hundreds of full-time merit system employees are eligible for, and in fact are receiving, welfare payments — including 67 workers in the welfare division itself.

*Excerpted from an editorial in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

In 1961 the FBI had eleven Blacks, eight Spanish-Americans, and one American-Indian among 5,873 agents. Among all of its 13,494 employees it had 48 Blacks. Today, the agency has 1,531 Blacks among its 18,600 employees. But it has only 51 Blacks, 39 agents with Spanish surnames, and three American-Indians among its 7,689 agents. One Spanish-American is in a supergrade status (GS-17). There is not a single Black in a supergrade, or top level position.

*Excerpted from "FBI won't win awards for fair hiring" by Carl T. Rowan*

Harvey Britton, an NAACP field director, was dispatched to Picayune, Mississippi, to investigate charges of intimidation and abuse of Blacks by the local police department. It didn't take long to hit pay dirt. He was arrested for allegedly "drunken driving" by the local police.

Judy Lorenson's article on the food stamp program (p.16), unfortunately, is not an isolated instance. Just recently, William E. Douthit, executive director of the Urban League, condemned the "callous and inhuman" distribution of food stamps in St. Louis.

"Thousands of people lined Delmar Boulevard for blocks, sometimes waiting in vain most of the day for food stamps. This latest outrage is only the most recent and visible manifestation of the thousand daily outrages perpetrated upon the poor by our present welfare system. In inquiring into the cause of the recent mess, the Urban League encountered the same run-around which must face every citizen daily in dealing with the welfare officials. We called the office of the City Comptroller, the local agency responsible to the State Department of Welfare for the food stamp program. They told us that they 'were working on the problem' and trying to locate additional facilities . . ."

As we go to press, a compromise food stamp plan has been passed. For the first time, a work requirement for recipients between 18 and 65 has been added. Sen. George McGovern of South Dakota called the work rule "serfdom." It will penalize children if, for example, a close relative in the home refuses to accept work. The three-year extension was passed with the provision because without it the program for 8,800,000 poor persons was endangered and may have expired in mid-January. Under the new plan — the House version — an estimated 13,000,000 can become eligible. Under the Senate measure, not accepted by the House-Senate conferees, between 21 and 26,000,000 could have qualified without any work requirements.

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## OUT OF FOCUS

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# Letters

## PASSING GRADE FROM SCHOOL CHIEF KOTTMAYER

F/M: I just read your article, "St. Louis Cannot and Will Not Finance Its Public Schools," in FOCUS/Midwest. However melancholy, it is a remarkably accurate, objective, and perceptive analysis of the problem. Aesthetically, it does pleasure me to see a problem clearly and coherently analyzed and then presented in honest, competently organized prose. You are an old pro, whoever you are, and whether you give a damn or not, I give you my respectful genuflection.

William Kottmeyer  
Superintendent  
St. Louis Public Schools

EDITOR'S NOTE: The author is Gary Tobin, a student in history at Washington University.

## SHOULD THE BIRD WATCHERS CO-OPT THE PEACENIKS?

F/M: There has been considerable concern in the peace movement about the booming environmental movement. Some feel that this "new" cause is siphoning off energy from the civil rights and peace movements. And when environmentalists are supported across the board from the far right to the far left, and when President Nixon gives them his blessing, and when it is seen that cleaning up the environment would cost hundreds of billions of dollars - what is one to think? It is not paranoid for the peaceniks to think that this utopian pie is dangled in the sky by the powers-that-be to relieve the pressure that has slowly been built up by the peace movement, the civil rights movement, and the student movement. In reaction, peaceniks begin to talk like the forest industry about naive, addle-brained bird watchers. Peaceniks write as does Tom Haroldson of the Liberation News Service in his widely reprinted underground press article, "Ecology Sucks," where he concludes:

*"The present ecology movement is unacceptable no matter how you look at it. A government that fakes concern over pollution while using the issue to manipulate the people, is worse than a government that does nothing at all - the appearance of action may lull the country into the fatal error of thinking the environment is being saved. . . . Ultimately, a truly democratic government will have to be formed and the military-industrial complex will have to be taken apart dollar by dollar. But, in the meantime, VOTE NO ON SURVIVAL."*

However, it can be demonstrated that anyone who says this completely misunderstands the overall structure of the environmental movement. It is not a matter of either stopping the war or saving the environment. The problems of war are at the exact center of those that environmentalists must solve. Consider:

**RESOURCE WASTE:** To survive, any species must live in balance with the resources of its environment. For man, the finite supplies of nonrenewable resources such as iron and petroleum should be used in such a way that they can be recycled for reuse. War, more than any other industry of man, involves massive waste. There is nothing like a big bomb for dissipating resources so that they cannot be recovered for reuse.

**PESTICIDES:** Destruction or alteration of animals and plants to increase food yields or to destroy an enemy's food supply has disrupted the earth's ecological balance more than any other technological development. War leaders today consider people to be the prime pests. The use of napalm, gas, and herbicides to eradicate people is destroying the environment.

**OVERPOPULATION:** World population continues to grow on an ever-rising curve; food production falls behind with straight-line growth. The human species has already increased in numbers beyond the earth's capacity to feed each individual adequately. War is the ultimate manifestation of the lemming-like madness that grips large populations of men in great need. One means toward the abolishment of war is to maintain human population at a size small enough so that resources and needs can be balanced for all men on earth. This is also essential for the reduction of environmental deterioration. Here, as clearly as in any other area, it can be seen that removal of a major cause of war would help solve central environmental problems.

**BRUTALIZATION:** The view that the earth and all living things on it were created solely for the use of man has led to the thoughtless destruction of the environment and the emotionless eradication of many forms of life. The environmental ethic recognizes nature's right to maintain a great variety of life forms. In our time the brutal attitude toward nature has been openly extended to man: Genocidal war is the farthest extreme of brutalization. A true respect for life should begin with the application of the environmental ethic to man himself.

The peace movement stresses that one third of mankind in the West uses two thirds of the world's resources today; two thirds of mankind in the East uses one

third of the world's resources today. President Johnson said in Korea in 1966: "There are 200 million of us in the world of three billion. They want what we've got and we're not going to give it to them." This is what war is all about.

The environmental movement stresses that the equitable satisfaction of human needs on earth depends on worldwide ecological balance. Only in this way can we overcome the imbalance of needs over goods to which Johnson refers. This is what the environmental movement is all about.

Solutions to the problems of war and the environment require a recycling use of resources to satisfy human needs, a curb on chemical destruction of life, the establishment of humane population control, and the de-brutalization of man's attitudes toward nature and toward his fellow men.

Should the bird watchers co-opt the peaceniks? Yes. But both must recognize that the central environmental problem today is not beautification, but the abolishment of war. Here is where we must put our energy, resources, and money now.

Richard A. Watson  
Department of Philosophy  
Washington University  
St. Louis, Missouri

## "STARK NAKED"



*Ernest Calloway called the Unvarnished Voter's Guide "... a significant contribution to political education ... avoids the trite and self-serving ... a series of incisive political vignettes ... leaves the Missouri legislature stark naked."*

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## CORE's Boycott of Busch Finds Support in Government Action

CORE's boycott of Anheuser-Busch products has not only met with wide acceptance among Blacks but also is making heavy inroads in the white community. The boycott, called to move the brewery to increase its percentage of black employees, has been endorsed by the New Democratic Coalition (NDC) and Action Against Apathy, a St. Louis suburban group. The Office of Federal Contract Compliance has reviewed the Anheuser-Busch hiring practices and found that it hires only 2 per cent Blacks while it is located in a city which has a black population of 50 per cent.

On December 1, Anheuser-Busch was officially notified by the Department of Agriculture that the firm's minority hiring practices are below standards established by the Federal Government. The Company was given 60 days to correct these deficiencies. Arthur A. Fletcher, assistant secretary of labor in the Nixon administration, warned the company that his department is set to take the brewery and the unions into court if a "pattern of practice" of excluding minorities is established. Anheuser-Busch, while the largest, is only one of the many breweries where minorities are grossly under-represented. (Falstaff Brewery in St. Louis has 2.5 per cent Blacks.)

Only a fair employment policy can restore confidence in the integrity of the company. No massive public relations campaign or *Globe-Democrat* editorials can cover up the past. It is gratifying to note that Anheuser-Busch is seeing the error of its past ways. Its percentages of hiring minorities has sharply improved. For the past seven months, a company spokesman stated, 19 per cent of all persons hired in St. Louis were in the minority category. For September, October, and November of 1970, over 30 per cent were in this classification. (Of course, it has not been ascertained how many of these were permanent employees and how many were part-time. It would be helpful if these company releases would also reveal increases in the total percentage of minorities employed.) The company should also be applauded for keeping CORE, the Urban League, and the NAACP informed about the progress which it is making.

FOCUS/Midwest compliments CORE for attacking the root of disruption and violence. By opening job opportunities to Blacks it has done more to keep St. Louis a peaceful community than all the floats entered in the Rose Bowl parade.

P.S. We have heard a rumor that Anheuser-Busch has retaliated to the boycott by withholding all of its donations to all Black fund-raising efforts, such as the Negro College Drive. An official denial would be welcome.

## Missouri Democrats Stall Reform

The leadership of the Democratic Party in Missouri is up to its old tricks. As a result, a split in the Democratic Party is a real possibility. Many reform Democrats talk of leaving the Party.

After urgings from the national leadership, a "Little McGovern Commission" was appointed which brought in several excellent and far-reaching recommendations. Among these were the elimination of proxies at Party functions and the extension of voting rights to the 18 year olds. In fear that a measure of

control would pass from the hands of the established machinery, the State Democratic Committee has repeatedly postponed consideration of the reform measures at the risk of further alienating liberal Democrats and the young. Protests from the New Democratic Coalition, several Democratic leaders such as St. Louis Alderman Henry C. Stolar and St. Louis County Committee Chairman Dr. Martin Greenberg, and several liberal papers particularly the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, have induced Democratic State Committee Chairman Delton L. Houtchens to promise early consideration . . . after guidelines are received from the national office of the Party. It is our understanding that these guidelines have been part of the original McGovern Commission report. These delaying tactics are being followed in the hope that the national party didn't quite mean what it said and that state parties may not have to follow such directives.

Moreover, why wait for national directives? Even if national recommendations are weaker, why shouldn't Missouri take the lead and adopt stronger reform measures? Since leaders are apprehensive at the possibility of a revolt during the candidate selection process in 1972, no reform measures will be adopted unless its proponents keep up the pressure and, indeed, consider alternate political affiliations.

## Preisler and Schramm Announce Candidacies

The caliber of Democratic candidates which have filed for statewide offices in Missouri and the unwillingness of the Democratic State Committee to comply with recommended reform measures (see above), are equally discouraging. The filings of Paul W. Preisler as a nonpartisan candidate for governor and of Rep. Jack J. Schramm (Dem.) for lieutenant governor came, therefore, at a most propitious moment. These candidates represent a hope for progress. Even if it is a vain hope, it's all we have.

Rep. Schramm's prospects are solid and his candidacy proclaims the arrival of a political personality of which Illinois has quite a few: Abner Mikva, Robert Mann, Cecil Partee, Anthony Scariano, Richard H. Newhouse, Harold A. Katz, and others. Preisler's chances are minimal. Yet, he holds a leverage which cannot be matched by anyone seeking the regular Democratic Party nomination. A recipient of a St. Louis Civil Liberties Committee award, Preisler has been singularly effective in broadening the democratic process through a number of lawsuits. He won decisions redistricting St. Louis wards and state legislative districts, restoring nonpartisan school board elections, giving minority parties the right to have election poll watchers, giving St. Louis teachers the right to join labor unions, enabling nonpartisan candidates to run for office without filing petitions to get on the ballot, and invalidating several congressional redistricting plans of the Missouri legislature. A lawyer, chemical engineer, and biochemist, Preisler has been St. Louis' own gadfly for the past forty years. He is well known in St. Louis and the word of his abilities could spread to other urban and university centers. The result would be that he could siphon off enough votes from the Democratic Party to assure the election of a Republican — particularly if the Republican will be John

(continued on page 28)

# Truckers and ICC Conspire Against Black

RICHARD GOLDKAMP

To some people, Timothy Person might seem like an unusually stubborn sort of man. As president of Allstates-American Van Lines Inc. of 5736 Easton Ave., in fact, this broad-shouldered, 40-year-old St. Louisan has come to be looked upon by certain competitors as a rank upstart in the trucking industry.

From the time he spent nearly \$12,000 to buy into a small household goods carrier in St. Louis in the early '60s, it took Tim Person some seven years to realize just how much the black community could use the services of a major trucking firm that was responsive to its needs.

*But from the moment he first petitioned the Interstate Commerce Commission for national hauling authority himself, it took him only about seven months to discover how hard it was for any black man to break into the world of transcontinental trucking.*

That discovery cost him about \$12,000 more.

Normally, of course, a government investigation into any industry is a good possibility when evidence of restraint of trade is found, at least once it comes to the attention of the Justice Department. *In the strange case of Allstates-American vs. the ICC, however, the government seems uncommonly willing to cooperate with the giants of an industry to preserve the status quo.*

The ICC, after all, listed 34 protesting companies as helping to block Person's first petition to expand his operation. Included in the list were some of the nation's leaders: North American, Allied, and United Van Lines among them.

Little wonder, then, that Person found it all but impossible to understand their protests "on the grounds that they have more than 54,000 units of equipment and because they felt that my 12 trucks would jeopardize their investments and business."

Person's business is still a relatively small one. But he was neither inexperienced nor illiterate about trucking matters when he started applying to the ICC to become the nation's first black carrier with coast-to-coast hauling authority.

His father founded Person Moving Service in St. Louis in 1929. It is still in business today. But the younger Person spent three years studying chemical engineering at Washington University before he realized that he, too, wanted to be a trucker. He left school to take over as operations manager of his father's firm in the late '50s. When he first dreamed of a national carrier service of his own, he was told to log much more experience in trucking before he even applied for authority to operate it.

He was determined to get it. Within three years he had scraped together enough money to buy into the old Allstates Van Lines. By the end of the '60s, he had controlling interest in the firm, had changed its name, and had about \$120,000 in equipment on hand, with a staff that numbered up to 30 employees in the peak season of the year.

But his operating authority was sharply limited to parts of 35 states. And so he began his tedious battle with the ICC and the industry's giants to extend his authority to all 50 states.

"The real advantage of national authority is the competi-

tive edge it gives you in bidding on bigger hauling jobs," says Person. "It's a complicated business when a trucker has to hook up with other carriers for authorization to go outside his normal territory."

He filed his first petition with the ICC at the end of March last year. The request was denied in early July because he had failed to establish "an immediate and urgent need for any of the service proposed."

Behind that official denial lay an officious irony. The Commission itself admitted receiving about 5,000 complaints annually alleging inadequate service by different carriers. Person felt sure that services offered in the black ghetto left ample cause for complaint.

*In fact, he was already busy checking out some cases in which major white carriers refused any service to ghetto residents.* He not only recorded several conversations on a small office dictating machine with customers who detailed incidents of poor treatment or no treatment at all, he also hired a public relations firm to compile background facts concerning the black man's plight in the trucking industry.

Unexpectedly, he also found support for his cause coming by mail from various parts of the country, from both carriers and customers who had heard of him. A black New Jersey trucker pointed out problems similar to those he had faced. A white Oberlin College professor in Ohio complained of poor service from a major interstate mover.

Early last August, he filed his second petition. Quoting figures obtained from the ICC and other sources, it pointed out that there were only 18 Negroes out of a total of about 15,200 motor carriers in the country, and only 16 black movers among more than 4,000 household goods carriers. A number of black carriers resorted to illegal "bootleg hauling" in order to survive, the report charged.

In late September, Person decided to place his case before the people with a long and costly ad in a major Washington newspaper. In essence, he pleaded that the black entrepreneur more often failed from "unyielding pressures of racial discrimination" than from his own lack of effort. Person originally dreamed up the ad as a maneuver in his own behalf; but he wrote it as if he were acting on behalf of the black businessman at large; and it finally appeared in print as a symbolic gesture on behalf of the black community in general.

First and foremost, Timothy David Person still thought of himself as a businessman by choice. But of necessity, he had become a black David in an industry dominated by white Goliaths.

Despite everything, however, his second petition was also turned down in October. As one commission spokesman casually stated its case to me: "Sometimes the ICC has to prevent the little guy from getting into an area where he has no expertise and possibly harming the reputation of the whole industry."

At the time, none of the ten presidential appointees serving as commissioners were Blacks. Moreover, Washington staff members were hard pressed to name a single black man at the supervisory level in dozens of ICC offices across the country.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission had taken an interest in the problem. Despite some initial doubts on their own part, a spot telephone check by staff investigators turned up strong evidence of discrimination against the black shipper in 5 of 6 cities, Person was informed. And early this year, a staff attorney forwarded to him a copy of a report, sharply critical of both the ICC and the trucking industry, that was recently compiled under the direction of consumer champion Ralph Nader.

Freshman Democratic Congressman Bill Clay, also a St. Louis Negro, took Person's story before the House of Representatives on a couple of occasions, charging that there was "no audience for the public interest in the ICC." Person himself was invited to testify on his industry's role in the black community before a Senate subcommittee investigating the transportation business.

And if everything else fails, Person threatens to take his fight into court.

When he paused recently to tally up expenses, he estimated he had spent some \$12,000 on trips to Washington, on legal fees, public relations and printing bills, and on long distance phone calls in pursuit of his goal.

Some four years of travel back and forth across the country, in fact, has enabled him to build up a roster of more than 200 small truckers, both black and white, who have expressed interest in aligning themselves with him as agents, if he should reach his goal.

It would indeed be an ironic twist of fate if Allstates-American grew large enough some day to take on smaller white truckers as agents. About three years ago, Person learned that Lyons Van Lines was looking for a new agent in St. Louis and put out an inquiry himself. The Lyons representative sent down from Chicago to contact him proved to be as impressed by Person's ability as he was surprised by the color of his face. The agent frankly told Person that he could recommend him on ability alone, but he wasn't sure his recommendation would be accepted when higher officials discovered his identity.

His doubts were well founded. Once the agent left town, the company made no attempt to follow up his call.

So a crucial question still awaits an answer: "Who will handle long-distance hauling for the ghetto resident if the big companies turn him down?"

Tim Person cannot call on the prestige of a Willie Mays when he asks that question of Washington. But then he does have the tenacity of a Missouri mule.

*Richard Goldkamp is a reporter with the St. Louis Globe-Democrat and a free lance writer.*

## TODAY IS SUNDAY / Gary Gildner

Holding the toast I've spread  
with fresh strawberry jelly,  
I read where the Reverend  
Marvin Proctor says the war  
"is partly a war against  
heathen religions." It would be  
wrong to stop. Elsewhere,  
scientists say it won't be long  
before we can kiss off  
Lake Michigan. Sore spots  
on the local front: white firemen  
are not speaking to the de-  
partment's only Negro; rot  
is winning against trees; four teens  
burn two cats "because we wanted to  
hear them scream;" a bat attacks  
a lady while she sleeps, but  
an official smashes the bat's brains  
with an empty Pepsi bottle. And Iowa's morals,  
according to a Mason City man,  
are going straight  
to hell. I pause  
to take my first bite.  
The toast is cold and,  
not surprising, hateful.

## SKYLINE AT MIDNIGHT / Ernest Kroll

The clocktower moon, imprisoned while  
All the stars of heaven move,  
Rubs its face with its hands,  
Like any fly, like any fly.

## THE CRACK IN THE CUP / Ernest Kroll

tea is the  
engine  
that has  
breached  
this wall  
of china

*Gary Gildner's first book of poems, "First Practice," appeared in 1969 (University of Pittsburgh Press). Gildner's poems and stories have been published in Antioch Review, The Nation, Poetry Northwest, North American Review, December, and elsewhere and one of his stories is included in The Best Little Magazine Fiction 1970 (New York University Press). Gildner teaches at Drake University.*

*Ernst Kroll has published three books of poems. His writings have appeared in a wide variety of publications since 1954.*

## *The Near Poor of Kansas City: Officially Ignored /*

RUSSELL C. DOLL



When decisions must be made regarding the distribution of limited amounts of financial and other aid, poverty becomes a relative thing. Some people must be judged as more or less "poor" than other people. Poverty, measured by certain kinds of objective criteria, is then made "official." Program aid is then disbursed to those who are "officially" poor.

But if you are not "officially" poor, then you had damned well better be solid middle class. You had better be able to provide aid for yourself which the poor would get through special programs. You had better be able to send your pre-school child to a tuition pre-school. You should expect little or no special help for your school-age child, his teacher, and his school. You should expect little in the way of public medical assistance or public help for housing in the area. You should be able to get along as well as a person living in the more affluent areas of Kansas City.

If you are not solid middle class, or if you live in an area not poor enough to be officially poor, if you fall into that grey area of the near poor, then you can expect something else. You can expect to pay your fair share of taxes without grumbling about being left out of tax supported programs. If you happen to live in a white or white ethnic low-income area and you do some loud grumbling about being left out, then you can expect to be called a white racist or a bigot. You can expect a lot of things but don't expect too much assistance.

Many people located on the Northeast and East sides of Kansas City fall in the grey area of poverty. They are neither solid middle class nor officially poor. They describe themselves as "just getting by" or "just plain working people" and in a sociologist's categorization would fall into the lower middle class and upper lower class.

### **Stability Marks Neighborhoods**

The "near poor" Northeast and East areas are composed of an estimated 116,000 people. In the Northeast and East areas the income ranges from \$1,000 to \$20,000 a year with an estimated median income of \$7,000.

It is this diversity in income which keeps the whole area

from receiving aid. It is also this diversity which is a strong point of the area since it offers, to some extent, a needed economic mix — something which city planners are striving to achieve in other areas.

Both areas have been stable over a long period of time with many third generation in the areas, sometimes in the same houses. There are parts of both areas which have strong ethnic traditions. The residents have a fierce pride in the areas and in their homes.

Many residents cannot afford to provide a great deal of financial assistance for their children and just keep their heads above water in keeping up their homes. Most have invested almost all they have in that particular piece of property and that one home. The cultural in-breeding, the ethnicity, and the marginal economic status in an inflationary society of great social change, combine to effect the residents' perception of their place in the larger scheme of things and effect their attitudes towards those living outside of the areas.

### **Exclusions Boosts Native Hostility**

The dissatisfaction and hostility brought about by feeling left out, ignored, and giving but not receiving, are intensified by the residents being contingent to areas receiving assistance. It is also intensified because the contingent areas are perceived as being poor but "not that poor." Hostility is increased by the residents thinking that there has been a studied attempt to exclude them because they are white and haven't "rioted" and include areas which are Black and have "rioted."

While there can be no doubt that perceived favoritism increases hostile feelings towards Blacks there can also be no doubt that the hostile feelings are often there to begin with. Examining possible causative reasons for hostile feelings is not to deny that many of these feelings would exist no matter where many of the people lived or no matter what equity was given in aid. On the Northeast and East sides one can find bigotry and prejudice which cannot be explained away in any analysis. It is bigotry and prejudice. But it would be unfair to those in the grey areas to think

these feelings are exclusive to them alone. There are probably about the same proportion of racists and bigots found in the more affluent Southwest areas. In fact the proportion might even be greater in the Southwest area if many of them had to live on the same income and the same edge of social change. The main difference between responses is that because of income and lack of strong area identity those on the Southwest side have options open to them when social change gets too sticky. The people on the Northeast and East areas have limited options because of income, and deep emotional ties to the area.

### Equity May Combat Bigotry

Areas not as hard hit by the direct effects of metropolitan change in social and residential patterns often must suffer the secondary effects, one of which is not being a "priority" area. The areas don't have great numbers of middle class fleeing and don't have relatively great numbers of very low achieving children. What they do have, however, and are very much aware of, is lack of equity. Meanwhile, funds which could bring equity are continuing to be concentrated in the suburbs through movement from the city to the suburbs.

It is doubtful if equity in services and consideration for aid will solve all the problems of the area and will eliminate entirely the hostility towards Blacks. The areas have distinct sub-cultural differences caused by past isolation and social in-breeding. A dilemma arises, however, when one realizes that it is precisely this isolation and in-breeding which forms the basis of the area's pride and provides its distinctive flavor. The people have an identity not usually found in large cities. The areas provide them with a shelter and a stability, which allows for commonality of need and solidarity, which could not exist under more extreme forms of poverty and which would be shattered in an area of more affluence.

But equity, the receiving of their just due, will most certainly be a needed beginning in lessening the potential for hostility towards poverty groups also receiving *their* just due. It would be a beginning of entrance into a wider field of contact which might hopefully break down the area's isolation and fear of what is different, allow the black and white populations to see that their problems are more similar than different, allow the middle-class and social planners to lose some of their righteousness when they begin to realize that the attitudes and reactions are rooted in legitimate needs.

But most important common programs might produce an understanding of, as Paul Edwards says, who the real villains are. Whitney Young, writing in the *Kansas City Call* of August 15, 1969, states,

About 70 million people live in families that earn between \$5,000 and \$10,000 a year. Most are white . . . There is . . . evidence to show that these white workers are hurting today, and that a lot of the bigotry some people show is but a symptom of their social and economic frustration. If this is so, then there is a good chance that Blacks and whites can climb over the racial barriers to support programs of common interest . . . The white working class is no silent mass. It suffers from the rising cost of living, from unemployment, expenses, and inadequate medical care, crime, lack of decent housing, and all the other problems that hit Black people . . . They need to fight shoulder to shoulder alongside their Black brother against the system that oppresses them both.

### Seen As "Hard Hat" Country

In the statements of people outside of the area, the residents fall into categories other than the neutral one of "just plain working people." To many higher income people in other parts of the city the area's residents are thought of as bigots. There is a general kind of embarrassment for the shocking disregard of liberal tendencies. The area is "hard

hat" country. *America - Love it or Leave it* bumper stickers are seen frequently. To those outside the area it is rife with muddle-headed jingoism. To many Blacks the area is a hotbed of prejudice, "Wallace country" and the "little Selma of Kansas City."

But people there deeply resent the labels given them and see their feelings as stemming from deeper, glossed over, and unfaced problems of which racial attitudes are a symptom. They feel their legitimate needs are being shoved aside for the benefit of Blacks. They feel up against the wall and that no one gives a damn.

They see themselves as being "patriotic" in the best sense of the word and, while feeling torn by the Vietnam war and feeling "we should get out," their "patriotism" dictates that we "win" before getting out and their "patriotic loyalty" precludes criticism of the government.

The irony is that equity will come to their neighborhoods much sooner if they would join in pushing for a disengagement from the Vietnam war. The problems of the near poor go beyond geographical boundaries, life styles, and black-white relations. Paul Edwards, director of Urban Programs for the Environmental and Development Foundation, states,

There probably is prejudice on the Northeast and East side. There probably are sanctimonious feelings on the Southwest side. But neither group is the "villain." The Blacks and whites aren't the "villains." The villains are the war which takes the money away from the needs of the cities, the technology which chews up and compartmentalizes people in all areas, the system and quotas which eliminate poor and near-poor from real help. The system says go to war. The system says set up "target" areas. We should concentrate - all of us - Black and white - on breaking up the system that dictates this. There is no reason why the system can't provide some degree of equity. It is far less costly to keep up already good areas. We should be pouring resources into areas which can be saved.

### Must There Be Target Areas?

The selection of Model Cities areas is cited by many residents as an example of selective assistance. When Model Cities were first set up ten per cent of the population of Kansas City was to be included within the boundaries. After a time more and more confusion began to develop over just what areas were to be included and by what criteria. Raymond Rodriguez, Chairman of the East Community Organization and Coordinator of Youth of the East Side, commented on the initial selection and the later exclusion of the East and Northeast areas from the Model Cities boundaries.

Both the Northeast and East areas asked to be included in the Model Cities districts and when they first talked to us we were to be included. We felt then, and still feel strongly, that our problems are as bad as any in the city. When we asked them how they were going to draw the boundaries no one seemed to know. When the grant for Model Cities finally came through only a portion of the East area was included. What they did was to drop the white area and the ethnic area and leave in the area of 80% to 90% Black. I'm not saying they don't need help - but what about us? Maybe we should make more noise and trouble instead of asking for things quietly.

There is a general and growing feeling that an area needs to wield the threat of serious violence before programs will be implemented there. The stroke of misguided genius that eliminated the near poor white areas from Model Cities served to intensify this feeling. Others outside the area think there is some validity to this idea. Paul Edwards states,

In placing programs the general philosophy of most planners, unfortunately, is to place them in areas which hurt you most. The Northeast and East areas can hurt you around election time but this is a lot less painful than other ways of being hurt - especially when you can still win the elections. It's a lot less painful than being burned out or shot at.

If there is a tendency to place programs in the most

potentially volatile areas it is probably because there is also a relationship between volatility, hard core poverty, and miserable living conditions.

**TABLE 1**  
**COMPARISON OF AREAS BY SELECTED FACTORS\***

	Northeast	East	Sample Model Cities	City Total
Median School Years Completed — Persons over 25 Years of Age	9.4	9.7	8.9	11.4
Average Population Per Household — Over 25 yrs	2.9	3.2	3.4	2.7
Per cent of Housing Units Deteriorating	25.7	26.1	30.9	15.3
Per cent of Housing Units Dilapidated	7.9	5.3	10.5	3.2

(Based on Census Tract Figures from 1960)

\* In a study recently completed for the Youth of the East Side, in October of 1970, but using different groupings, it was found that for the East area, 28% of the houses were "substandard," 42% were "semi-standard" and 30%, "standard and above." The population fell into the age groupings of "21% over age 69," "64% from 40 to 69," and "15% from 18 to 40" which shows an older population, reflecting a need for assistance for home upkeep and medical aid for many older people. Income levels varied, with "10% over \$20,000," "18% from \$14,000 to \$7,000," and "22% from \$1,000 to \$4,000." Total population for the East side, in 1970, was given at 73,000.

Table 1 shows that areas having the most dilapidated and deteriorated housing are located in the volatile Model Cities areas. Yet we also see that there is a goodly portion of the Northeast and East areas which need assistance they are not receiving.

The exclusion from Model Cities has resulted not only in eliciting cries that the squeaky-wheel-gets-the-oil but in increasing hostility towards the Black population and intensifying the common feeling of being left out of things and isolated from concerns of the city and government.

Feelings of exclusion and Black favoritism are felt most strongly in comparisons of help given to Title 1 schools. Title 1 schools have a multiplicity of services ranging from special pre-school and follow-through programs to intensive programs and extensive services to improve the children's reading. Almost all the schools in the Northeast and East area are excluded from Title 1 services and only one, the James School, has a highly visible special program in operation. The rest of the schools must function with, essentially, the same services and budgets as schools in more affluent areas of the city since the Northeast and East areas were not poor enough to be classified as officially poor by the school district.

Even though they are not "officially poor," the "official" achievement of the children points to a great need for help.

**TABLE 2**  
**COMPARISON OF AREAS BY SELECTED**  
**ACHIEVEMENT SCORES ON THE**  
**IOWA BASIC ACHIEVEMENT TEST\***

	All elementary schools feeding into		Title I Elementary Schools
	Northeast High	East High	
Vocabulary	5.8	5.8	5.0
Reading	5.6	5.6	5.1
Language	5.3	5.3	5.0
Work Studies	5.7	5.7	5.1
Arithmetic	5.8	5.6	5.1

\* Given to sixth grades in March of 1970.

## The Near Poor of Kansas City:

### Officially Ignored



If the child from a near poor area is not receiving extra needed help from the school system then the only other resources for help would be the home or neighborhood agencies. In both instances the potential for help is limited. Many parents, by and large, while interested in their children, don't know how to help. The neighborhood agencies are not receiving adequate financing since the area is not "hard core" poverty and can't afford the resources to offer help.

The potential for academic help from the home is not too strong. This is indicated by the facts that in the East area out of 46.3 per cent of fathers had finished high school and 18.7 per cent had not attended high school at all. More mothers than fathers had finished high school — 53.5 per cent. In the area as a whole, only 3 out of 100 parents had graduated from college, with 24% fathers and 13% of the mothers having had some college. A sobering thought is that these figures are only for the parents of graduates of East high school.

Neighborhood agencies, on the other hand, are not financed well enough to support programs of intensive assistance to parents and children. They are financed, in the main, by private foundations.

In the case of a program designed to help advise and tutor the increasing and alarming number of school drop-outs, the Youth of the East Side (YES) is financed by the Kansas City Trusts and Foundations and the Sears Foundation. But the problem is so great and the causative factors run so deep that what YES offers only touches a handful of children.

Two neighborhood centers assisted by United Campaign funds are the Minute Circle and the Whatsoever Center. Both can run only perfunctory programs since the United Campaign funds drives have not been meeting their goals. Consequently, funding for these centers has been reduced.

### "Urban Village" Threatened

For those living outside of such areas it is almost impossible to realize the fierce devotion to maintaining what they have as it now exists, of the territorial hold such areas have on the people and the feeling, bordering on love, they hold for these areas. The residents feel that if their area changes either in social composition or "goes" in terms of physical deterioration, all they know and own will have gone as well since they have few options for physical movement and little conditioning for psychological reorientation.

But there is something more than a physical aspect to the concerns for the area. There is a fear of a life style, a "culture" being "destroyed." The people see themselves not only as being residents of "an area not receiving needed help" but residents of what Herbert Gans calls an "Urban Village." This "village," the people feel, is being ripped apart by the twisting winds of social change, which winds are blown by people outside their area — the social planners of the suburbs and the Southwest side.

(continued on page 21)

# Legal Offense: A Radical Strategy /

HENRY ETZKOWITZ

Legal offense as a radical strategy is defined both as an instrument of attack and a means of defense through taking the offensive. This approach may not be as exciting as watching the igniting of a building; nevertheless such a radical strategy can generate its own satisfactions and, hopefully, more salutary results.

The Pavilion for Children and Youth, Inc., has developed legal offense and is using it to take the Mayor of St. Louis to court and to sue the power structure of St. Louis for eight million dollars.

Legal offense in this instance uses the courts to attack the misuse of funds donated by the public and at the same time exerts pressure to redirect priorities for the Spanish Pavilion, changing it from a place of expensive entertainment for a privileged few to a day care center and overall youth facility, thus serving the greater community. The power elite, who ordinarily take for granted the use of legal techniques to control, now find themselves being controlled by these same techniques. In effect, they are being beaten at their own game.

This radical strategy can also be used as a technique to protect new alternative institutions when they come under attack. For example, the Building Department of St. Louis attempted to close the Infant Growth Environment day care center, and refused to give it a permit to operate; so IGE will go into court to get a writ of mandamus to force the Building Department to issue a permit. (IGE is a community day care center serving infants from 6 weeks to 3 years of age, thereby enabling their mothers to return to school or to work.) Thus, the strategy of legal offense has a boomerang effect, in this case being used against the very bureaucracy which has formerly utilized the legal system as a method of attack against new institutions for social change.

## Legal Offense As A Method

We are using legal and constitutional means to effect social change, as well as doing sociology of the power structure. This new methodology may provide an answer to the challenge Talcott Parsons posed to C. Wright Mills, and here I paraphrase, "Mr. Mills, this is a very interesting theory (the Power Elite), but where are your data? How are you going to get it? They are not going to give it to you." By utilizing legal offense as a method of doing sociology, we eliminate the risks of depending upon unwilling respondents for data; witnesses must be willing to answer these questions under oath in court or face charges of contempt or perjury. Pre-trial examinations include depositions (the legal equivalent of a face-to-face interview) and interrogatories (the legal equivalent of a written questionnaire), which give the sociologist the necessary legal clout to deal with the power elite.

Legal offense as a new dimension for conducting a sociology of power structure and as a radical strategy for social change is also a first step toward a reformulation of the sociology of law. It answers the question that Jerome Skolnick put to Erwin O. Smigel, and here also I paraphrase, "You know everything about the Wall St. lawyer, his background, etc., except what he actually does in advising the financial elite." Sociologists who study the law, instead of continuing to act as passive observers of the law, may become active participants in the legal process by acting as citizen *cum* sociologist.

Wittingly or unwittingly, the establishments are in support of the procedure of legal offense. Having experienced violence, they now staunchly maintain that there is no sanctuary from the law and often encourage citizens to settle their grievances and disputes through militant legal offense as opposed to violence. Here is one means by which elements in the system can be used to change the system, to effect new institutions. People working for social change have too long seen the courts solely as an instrument of repression acting *against* their interests. It is time for social activists to use the courts in their own right as an instrument against those who seek to stifle social change.

This is not to say that all laws can be blindly obeyed. It is often necessary when confronted by immoral or unjust laws to disobey them and engage in institutional civil disobedience by circumventing authority in order to establish a new institution. By filing suit to overturn the laws used against new institutional concepts, the courts in this case (that of IGE vs. St. Louis Building Department) are used to obtain legitimation for the already established alternative institution.

## Other Advantages

Legal offense also offers the advantage of being able to operate in the open. We can identify ourselves. For example, the Pavilion for Children and Youth, Inc. has filed an eight-million-dollar suit against the Civic Center Redevelopment Corporation (the urban renewal corporation for Downtown St. Louis) and the Spanish International Pavilion Foundation. This method reaches a much wider audience than can be obtained by the mere issuing of a condemnatory press release. Furthermore, this method exposes the financial interests as well as, in this case, blocks the turning over of the Pavilion to a private party.

A major disadvantage of a violent act as a strategy is that when one destroys a symbol (i.e., the ROTC Building) of an institution protested against (i.e., the Vietnam War and/or the military-industrial-university complex), it is true that a sense of accomplishment may obtain temporarily, but ultimately whoever committed the violent act is placed in jeopardy, and attention is deflected from the actual issue. The violent act itself becomes the issue; the symbol is forgotten; and instead of furthering the anti-war movement, the destruction itself aids and abets the anti-student and anti-academic movement. By bringing legal action the central focus of the issue can be magnified rather than deflected.

Legal protection for the citizens of the United States is not a one-way street. It is, rather, a broad avenue, suitable and hopefully adequate to serve all interests, however diverse. To make an *actuality* of what has been a *theoretical* availability to all, people working for social change and social justice must be prepared to take upon themselves the responsibility for its implementation. We submit that one viable radical strategy to accomplish these ends is legal offense.

Henry Etzkowitz is assistant professor of sociology at Washington University and co-author of "Ghetto Crisis" (Little Brown, 1969). He is also president of Infant Growth Environment.



# *“There will be a new form of Christianity”*

HARRY J. CARGAS INTERVIEWS SISTER CECELIA GOLDMAN

*While this interview was conducted some time ago before Sister Goldman left the Maryknoll Sisters, FOCUS/Midwest publishes it in this issue because of its relevance to the causes of poverty.*

**Cargas:** *Nobody will deny that this is an age of protest. The question is the style of protest. How do religious protest? And should religious protest?*

**Sister Cecelia:** I think we are talking about an age where religious are becoming involved with social issues. And I like to think of it as a symbol of change, change that has to take place now. So I see the religious, the priest, the minister being involved in the movements of today, to bring change to our society.

**Cargas:** *Now, is that the point of religious life, is that the purpose? Many of us were brought up on the notion that sister belongs in the convent, the priest belongs in the rectory, the minister belongs in the pulpit.*

**Sister Cecelia:** That is the stated purpose of the religious way of life. To serve the poor, I think, is something that we have really gotten away from. It is related to the church because the church at one time was supposed to serve people in struggle and it doesn't anymore. And so the sisters became part of the establishment. More perhaps than a man by simply being a woman. I see the sister today in a whole new role. I don't see her confined anymore, I don't see her simply as a person locked up in a convent.

**Cargas:** *You are equating church with the establishment in at least some respect. Does it now become the role of the nun and the religious to protest against the very church which she is committed to?*

**Sister Cecelia:** Well, I don't relate to the church. The church is and has become part of the establishment. The American church serves the status quo, the white middle class, suburbia. It has not functioned as a Christian movement for people in struggle – the black people, the Indians, and, of course, the Mexicans. The church has been identified with plantation charity. We are doing our thing by giving food and clothing, but we are not working towards making people self-determined and that means the church is going to have to risk itself. It is going to have to take a whole new stance and take the other side of the establishment which means a very threatening thing to the church. But I think the church no longer can afford to be part of the establishment where it won't exist much longer.

**Cargas:** *The initial Christian church was rebellious to the establishment wouldn't you say?*

**Sister Cecelia:** I would use the term revolution.

**Cargas:** *Is that the role of the church? Do you think in history it can be continually revolutionary? Is it a good thing for the church to be doing?*

**Sister Cecelia:** I would see it as the only thing that the church can do. Many people see my own involvement or perhaps the Black Sundays Program as creating violence.

And yet our whole movement has been one of peace. Peaceful disruptions (if people want to use that word; I use the word “confrontation”). But you know if we look at Christ and see Him in relation to society – and I can relate Him to Martin Luther King – if we look at His cause it was completely surrounded with violence. You know the Sadducees were out to kill Christ and His followers. The political leaders of the day were trying to figure out what to do with Christ. He died a violent death and He also created, like people are saying that ACTION (in St. Louis) perhaps is creating, violence or a conflict of conscience. Christ told His disciples to go ahead and say “Eat this corn on the Sabbath” because laws can't override the needs of humanity. And so I see the church as a continuous part of revolution. However, the church has set itself outside of the revolutionary movement today. I see many individuals in the church perhaps responding, but the institutional church is safe, comfortable, and secure in serving the status quo.

**Cargas:** *You want us to do away with the institutional church?*

**Sister Cecelia:** I'm sort of a Hans Kung follower. He has a philosophy or theology, if I can use that word, that Christ came to find the kingdom and what happened was the church. I see the church as a kingdom of people. If the institutional church is not a kingdom of people, people in need, if the church is not ready to sacrifice itself for a people in struggle, then our society has no need for an institutional church.

**Cargas:** *Would it be correct to say that you feel that each person himself somehow represents the church, is a church?*

**Sister Cecelia:** Yes.

**Cargas:** *Then you see yourself as a church, however this may be defined. You have taken action. You have, for example, before Christmas, chained yourself to the doors of a large department store to dramatize something. First, would you tell us what, and then would you tell us why?*

**Sister Cecelia:** Well that protest was an act of civil disobedience and it was connected with ACTION'S Christmas program.

**Cargas:** What is ACTION?

**Sister Cecelia:** ACTION is a civil rights organization here in St. Louis. It's made up of blacks and whites with black leadership and Percy Green is the Chairman of ACTION. I think most people in the St. Louis vicinity are familiar with ACTION and the Black Christmas program. Its purpose is to point out the exploitation that goes on at Christmas time. My own identity with it was to support the goals of ACTION but also to point to the church again and make the church aware of what it is doing at Christmastime, what



Christmas is all about. I can't be thinking of Christmas as a one-day event on which to spend money. We have a whole psychology about Christmas in our society. Look at the advertising psychology. The middle-class people are trying to outdo each other and poor people simply go into debt. So the purpose was an awareness protest to point out what we are doing to poor people in our society and that the church is part of this. It has let Christmas become a commercial institution.

**Cargas:** *Is ACTION really a Christian motivated group?*

**Sister Cecelia:** That would be hard to determine. ACTION is made up of individuals and certainly I have experienced, if you want to use the word, "Christian" values in ACTION more than I have in the church. I am sure that many of the members of ACTION would not identify themselves as Christian. There is a book *Black Theology and Black Power* which brings out this whole point of Christianity in relation to the black community today. Christianity as it exists now is a white-valued religion and so black people must develop their own Christianity, their own way of life in relation to Christ.

**Cargas:** *What direction do you think Black Christianity might take? Is it something that the white suburbanite ought to be afraid of?*

**Sister Cecelia:** I think so, because Black Theology or Black Christianity will relate back to human values. This is where Christianity has gone wrong. We have separated Christianity and humanity, and I say that in a very real sense. Christianity is not a human-valued way of life. How can a Christian go to church every Sunday and identify with religion and the moral way and negate a brother or see a man not fully as a human being. I would think that Black Theology would be, perhaps, the revolutionary change that white Christianity needs.

**Cargas:** *Do you go to church every Sunday?*

**Sister Cecelia:** No, I don't.

**Cargas:** *Is this a matter of the community not sharing the values that you share?*

**Sister Cecelia:** That's right. I go to mass or celebration of the Eucharist with groups of people with whom I can identify in a meaningful way. My Christianity or my celebration of the Eucharist is as real to me inside with the people as it is on the streets, where I live my Christianity. I am not about to play games with the celebration of the Eucharist.

**Cargas:** *Does it have to be with people that you know? Can you have a bond with people that you don't know but whose goals are similar to yours?*

**Sister Cecelia:** Right. If we talk about the Lower College Church (at St. Louis University), there are many people there that I don't know personally, and yet because there is an identification with people aware of issues and aware of Christianity today: it's easier to be free in that Eucharist and to know that we are all there with a goal of wanting to change Christianity to make it what it should be.

**Cargas:** *Your protest basically is a civil rights kind of activity. The church has failed in civil rights?*

**Sister Cecelia:** Has failed? I would say that the church has not even identified with civil rights. In the last three to five years there have been individuals like Father Groppi, priests and sisters who have risked themselves in going down to Selma and individuals perhaps like myself. Why aren't there more individuals? I haven't found the real or complete answer.

But it is interesting to note that a Sister Joann or a Brother David Darst, or the Berrigan brothers become involved in the peace movement and they do acts that our society tabs as more violent than perhaps, say, my own protest: destroying files, throwing chairs out windows. And yet each one of their communities has stated that even after jail terms they may return to their community, there is no dismissal. But a civil rights person, a religious, a priest, a Father Groppi, or myself, are threatened with dismissal by the community. The reason, I believe, is that there is a real economic threat. The church is such a part of the institutional way of life in this country that it can't deal with the pressures that come when one of its people gets involved in the civil rights movement. Besides, Christianity, the Catholic Church, is so racist that it can't identify with me, as a person out to destroy racism in this country, at any cost. My Christianity must destroy racism, and if that racism exists in the Chancery of Cardinal Carberry or down to the lowest church, I will do everything possible to get rid of that racism. Civil rights people are a direct threat to their own institution that they are a part of.

**Cargas:** *Why do you remain a Maryknoll Sister? If the institution is corrupt, if your order is not supporting you, isn't it hanging you up?*

**Sister Cecelia:** I remain a Maryknoll Sister because first of all I chose to become a Maryknoll sister eleven years ago because I wanted to belong to a community that was serving humanity. I thought at that time it was. It is basically a foreign country mission Order and goes into most of the countries around the world. And as I have grown within Maryknoll, I had hoped that of all the communities in existence, Maryknoll would be the one to take on a leadership role here in America. It is the first American founded missionary community. Therefore, even our background is an American training. We have also always been



trained to be individuals. I see Maryknoll caught in the trap also of the American society. I have not decided to leave Maryknoll but in my life commitment through Maryknoll, I reached a point where I was aware of the injustices to black people and that I as a sister had to become involved through civil rights, through protest. So Maryknoll, I guess, became uncomfortable with me and I can understand the pressures that came to Maryknoll. Maryknoll asked me to, but I am not about to withdraw from Maryknoll. One of the reasons is that if I withdraw from Maryknoll that what happens with me will happen with every other sister who gets involved.

**Cargas:** *What about other sisters getting involved? Do you find that there is more of a tendency to emulate the kind of thinking that you have among religious, not only in your own Order but in other Orders as well?*

**Sister Cecelia:** No. I think not yet. I think that there is too much of a risk. It does mean a risk, a commitment that is threatening. Religious life is treating me as Southwestern Bell would if I was an employee. You deal with this person by pulling out her life source. As my job would have been threatened, so my way of life has been threatened. I know many priests and sisters who would rather work silently so that they can remain within the structures and continue. They have no hope that if they would become public protestors that that would be the end. They are really committed to staying within the institutional church.

**Cargas:** *They feel themselves irritants. Do you feel irritating is an important thing?*

**Sister Cecelia:** Yes. For my own commitment I have chosen the public protest way. And for my own conscience, I cannot act any other way, so I was ready to put my Maryknoll vocation on the line.

**Cargas:** *What I understand you to be saying is that the majority of people who at least profess religion is in error and the very great minority is not. You know it sounds like the kind of thing that they are all out of step except a few of us. This may well be true but yet when somebody throws this to you, how do you respond?*

**Sister Cecelia:** The great majority is out of step? I would have to say that, I guess, I agree with that. They are so programmed, if I can use the word "brainwashed," within the church, within the religious way of life, that it is very difficult to come out of this programming. Once you come out of it, you are free and yet the risks are tremendous and the pressures are great and one has to make a decision, and when that decision is made, live it to the fullest at all costs. There are many people working within the church who are not public protestors and who are bringing about change. In their conscience and commitment this is the way they have

decided to move, as the public protest is the way I have decided to confront the church.

**Cargas:** *Some people feel that any kind of confrontation is a violent confrontation and you have told us that you consider your mode nonviolent.*

**Sister Cecelia:** But you have to remember that my confrontation is specific to the black movement in this country and to the existing racism in the church. So it wouldn't matter what any black person would do to confront the churches: it would be a threat. The church is a racist institution. It has white values, it's white controlled, and it is keeping black people down. And I am not about to be a quiet protestor because we are talking about a situation in this country which the Church has to face. I don't even think that Maryknoll five years from now will be in foreign countries unless they face this crisis here in our own country.

**Cargas:** *Do the church and particular Orders run the risk now of becoming irrelevant?*

**Sister Cecelia:** Definitely. But I live as I do in the movement with Christianity. There will be a new form of Christianity, and I see our young people developing it and I see older people also. A lot of people say to me "Well you are out to destroy." I'm not afraid of the word "destroy" because destroy is related to destruction and destruction is related to death and death is new life. And I see destruction for the church. But my vision is beyond that because I believe in the new life after death. But what we have in the church today has to be destroyed so that Christianity can live. My thing is specific to racism. James Forman has shaken the churches up, they can no longer sit back now. Forman does much more than ask for money from the churches. There is a whole theology that he has confronted our churches with. I wouldn't care if James Forman didn't ask the churches for a penny. But what he has told the churches is: you are racist.

**Cargas:** *Some churches are responding, aren't they?*

**Sister Cecelia:** Yes. There are some that have responded, and there have been many that have made public statements of opposition. Here in St. Louis we have had many churches which have made statements against ACTION-like Sunday programs, especially the Catholic Archdiocese. And we have had Lutherans and Episcopalians that have responded by setting up committees, trying to study the demands, trying to reprogram within their own institutional set-up for their people.

**Cargas:** *One black minister criticized some of these meetings to me when he said that these meetings were called out of fear rather than out of love and respect for their fellowmen. The churches really got together because they were*



*afraid of what the black man was going to do inside the churches rather than to meet them as brothers.*

**Sister Cecelia:** I don't want to criticize the black minister, my being white, and there are enough black brothers who will take care of that situation. I would imagine that's his own projection of fear. As you know, the black ministers have been the last persons to support, to understand the confrontation that is going on in white churches.

**Cargas:** *In reference to the Black Sundays program with which ACTION is associated: there was a threat that it would interrupt and, in fact, it did interrupt services. Demands to speak were made. There was a threat made that some people would abuse the communion cup and so on. Violent or non-violent?*

**Sister Cecelia:** Well, first of all the constitution of ACTION organization is a non-violent constitution and the way that we are dealing with the churches has been the same way ACTION organization has dealt with Southwestern Bell or Laclede Gas or the Black Christmas program. But for the first time isolated Christians in their little public houses of worship are completely threatened. The church is a public house of worship. Every church we have gone to has a sign "Welcome the Visitors." Now why can't black people choose to come to such churches on a Sunday and talk to the people? In a way, perhaps, it is uncomfortable, but black people in this country have done everything to get Christians to respond. Martin Luther King could hardly get any of the churches to respond to him until he was dead, and black people in this country aren't about to care about white people's concern about method any longer.

**Cargas:** *So we are going to drift from the Martin Luther kind of approach to the H. Rap Brown approach or the Stokely Carmichael approach?*

**Sister Cecelia:** I'm not about to speak for black people and their approaches. If we look at what's happening in this country, we see whites screaming law and order because they are threatened with riots, and yet they won't face the reality of why riots exist. There are many black movements around this country which are threatening the white community. I see this country going towards total revolution, if we don't begin now. So why do we stop and tell black people to sit down at a table and talk when that's been happening for 300 years? White people in this country aren't about to change and black people are telling them they don't care anymore whether they want to change. Nevertheless, there must be change in this country.

**Cargas:** *How do the black militants look upon you. Do you, a white person, feel comfortable with them?*

**Sister Cecelia:** I feel comfortable. There are many indivi-

dual movements that do not have white people involved. Some of them have white people in a supportive role. ACTION is an integrated organization, with black leadership. White people are there because they believe in wanting change in this country, and they want justice for all people. The movement today must be controlled and determined by black leadership. If white people are going to come into the movement and say "Now we'll tell you all what to do," they won't last very long.

**Cargas:** *How are Christians responding to you?*

**Sister Cecelia:** Here in St. Louis, in relation to Black Sunday, it's tokenism. There is a lot of verbiage; there is no positive action. It will be interesting to see how the institution will be able to identify with people in struggle. To do this means the economic power of the church must be eliminated, really. They have got to share their power with the people in struggle. The political pressures of the church have to cease also. The Catholic Church will say that it puts thousands of dollars into the black community: but they place thousands of dollars into white peoples' hands. They are not giving it to black people to let black people decide how their economic base should be.

**Cargas:** *But how are the Christians responding to you, personally?*

**Sister Cecelia:** Catholics have been very threatened by me and the response has been one of mistrust, of hostility, of not understanding. There is a group of Catholics who do support me and understand. Protestants have come out in support of me more than Catholics but I am not a threat to the Protestant way of life.

**Cargas:** *Have they missed frequently the issues and devoted their time to attacking you personally?*

**Sister Cecelia:** Definitely. The Catholics are very difficult to talk to. It's all me.

*Sister Cecilia Goldman is an activist nun, chairman of ACTION's Church Committee, a St. Louis civil rights group, and a frequent critic of Archbishop John J. Carberry of St. Louis. She is presently employed with the Concentrated Employment Program operated by the Human Development Corporation. After a number of controversial civil rights activities, the Maryknoll Order to which she belonged questioned her status as a nun. After first affirming her standing without conditions they later expelled her when she renounced her vows of poverty. When she made the renunciation she offered to take a vow to eliminate poverty and racism. She regained her title "Sister" in a ceremony at St. Stephen's Episcopal Church where Rev. William D. Stickney, rector, received her as Sister Cecilia.*

## *Feeding the Hungry by Appointment* / JUDY LORENSEN

Hunger and malnutrition are a national problem. Hunger is not confined to Mississippi or South Carolina or Arizona or Appalachia, and the "10,000,000 people who go to bed hungry every night," of which Robert Kennedy spoke, or the 20,000,000 poor who suffer from malnutrition, are living in every state in the Union. And that includes Missouri.

President Nixon has declared his intention to abolish hunger. Bills have been introduced in Congress. The Department of Agriculture points with pride to the food stamp program and the donated commodities program. Yet, the Department fails to explain that the family feeding programs were designed not to feed the hungry but primarily to protect the farmer. Indeed, the Department of Agriculture has maintained through the years that the farmers, and not the hungry, are its major responsibility. The programs have always been funded on the assumption that no more than 20 per cent of those eligible would participate. This became a self-fulfilling prophecy: inadequate funds made it difficult to make the programs effective, no more than 20 per cent ever did participate.

When the Greater St. Louis Committee on Hunger and Malnutrition was formed in May of 1969, it became clear that the battle against hunger had to be fought in the city halls and county courthouses as well as in Congress.

The committee was formed after Judy Cromwell, a representative of the National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition, visited St. Louis seeking interested people to investigate the problem here. She had done some preliminary investigation and had found that while the food stamp program was offered in the city and the donated commodities program in St. Louis County, in both places the percentage of those eligible who actually used the program was very low. In the City of St. Louis, according to OEO figures (using 1966 census figures), about 24 per cent of the population was living below the poverty level, but only slightly over 3 per cent, or 21,000 were receiving food stamps. In St. Louis County, 9 per cent of the population was living below the poverty level, but only 7/10 of 1 per cent, or about 5,000, were receiving commodities.

### **Organize Local Task Force**

The National Council representative first met with the New Democratic Coalition, where about thirty persons volunteered. They became the nucleus of a local task force. Other organizations, such as the Presbyterial Association, the Archdiocesan Council of the Laity, Church Women

United, the Missouri Association for Social Welfare, provided workers or, at least, moral support. This loose coalition of organizations later proved to be useful in demonstrating political clout.

### **Mistreatment of the Poor**

The first task was to tackle the problem of limited participation in the donated commodities program, a program in which free surplus commodities are distributed to low-income families. Most public assistance recipients are automatically eligible, as well as others with low incomes. The program was ineffective because there had never been much publicity and no effort was made to reach into the community. A great many eligible people didn't even know it existed. In addition, welfare workers in the county had been instructed not to aid or encourage their clients to use it. This was changed in September, 1969, when Proctor Carter, state director of welfare, issued a memorandum to all county and district offices in which he directed them to "make sure that each recipient in every caseload is made aware of the plan."

Even for those who wanted to use the program, the obstacles were great. There was only one distribution point, at Lambert Field in north St. Louis County, and food was distributed according to household size on one specific day a month for each applicant. Since many of the poor have no transportation, this was a serious problem. Eugene Montone, county welfare director, offered this solution: "Anyone could get there who really wanted to. This guy, see, maybe has a friend who's a chauffeur. And when the friend's boss is out of town, he gets him to drive him up there." The few who found transportation probably had to reimburse the driver with money or with a portion of the food.

Recipients met further obstacles at the center itself. The program was inadequately staffed. While one staff member often worked late at night and on weekends in an attempt to process pending applications, the waiting time for certification was often three to four months. While the center was supposed to be open from 9:30 to 11:30 a.m. and from 1:00 to 3:00 p.m., it was not always open during those hours. Sometimes recipients would arrive at 9:30 and wait until 10:00 for the center to be opened. At 10:30 the door would be locked, with a sign on it saying, "Open again at 10:45." At 10:45 they would return, only to be confronted once again with a locked door, and a sign saying, "Open at 11:15." And so on through the day.



The center was hot in the summer and cold in the winter (except in the room where the staff worked), and recipients had to stand in line for hours at a time. There were not enough chairs. Many times after spending the day there, they were told that they could not be served that day and would have to come back the next day. Often, they were treated rudely by interviewers, and even pregnant women had to carry the heavy boxes of food which they received to their cars without assistance; the attitude of some workers seemed to be that recipients should be grateful to get anything at all. There was one final indignity. The rest room was locked, with an "out-of-order" sign on the door. It was not out of order, but the supervisor did not want the recipients to use it.

### Conditions Improve

Some of these deficiencies were relatively easy to correct. Task force volunteers sat in the distribution center and wrote down everything they saw, including times people came in and times that they were served. When the evidence was submitted to Montone, he visited the center, directed that it be open continuously from 9:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m., and unlocked the rest room. About two months after we began working, he dismissed the supervisor.

The problem of transportation was more difficult. Two task force members, Betty Redman, an HDC worker in Valley Park, and Al Belletz, a social worker in Wellston, had attempted to help recipients in their areas. Belletz arranged transportation by school bus to the center, and Mrs. Redman had arranged with the welfare department to pick up food for her clients in trucks that she hired. Knowing that Kansas City, in contrast to St. Louis County, had twelve distribution centers to serve a comparable population, Eugene Montone was approached with the recommendation that conveniently located additional centers be established. He refused because of lack of funds. The local council then offered to set up additional centers, providing the sites, labor, and trucks to transport the food. He agreed, with three conditions: (1) That someone from the commodities program supervise the operations, (2) that the centers not be established all at the same time, but on a step by step basis, and (3) that a limited number of households be served at each; 25, for example, in Kinloch.

The first condition was accepted, because it relieved the council of the responsibility of accounting for the food; the

second was agreed to reluctantly, because it meant a waiting period of several months before all centers would be in operation. But the third condition was unacceptable, because one of the major reasons for establishing the centers was to increase participation. Montone contended that if too many additional households were enrolled, it would "break" the program, and that if we were too successful in increasing participation he would have to shut down our centers. When asked, "Are you trying to tell us that no matter how many hungry people there are in St. Louis County, you are going to allow food to be distributed to only a limited number?" Montone, a man sympathetic to the needs of the poor, but caught between his desire to serve them and his responsibility to the county government to maintain a low budget operation, smiled ruefully, "Yes, I guess that's what I'm saying."

Distribution centers were set up and *all* eligible applicants were served with the tacit consent of the welfare department. Legally they may not refuse to certify any eligible person. In Kinloch, commodities were delivered to the recipients' homes. In North Webster, the North Webster Community Improvement Association, a black citizens group, organized the distribution. Betty Redman moved her distribution to the Meacham Park HDC center, to include residents of both Meacham Park and Valley Park, and another one was added at Chesterfield. Volunteers helped with providing transportation for Wellston residents, since the buses could carry only a limited number. Distribution sites were slated to open in Wellston and Lemay in January 1970, but by that time officials thought the food stamp program would begin in the County by April 1, so they did not wish to start new centers. In the several months that the distribution centers were operating, until the food stamp program did actually come in on May 1, 1970, several hundred additional families were able to receive commodities who would have been hungry otherwise.

### A Limited Budget

In the fall of 1969, the program had a backlog of 300 to 400 applications waiting to be processed. Inadequate staff and long waiting periods for certification were problems attributable directly to an insufficient budget. Montone had explained that an adequate budget, providing for no expansion, would include provision for at least six additional staff workers. The \$60,000 budget which he had submitted did

not provide for them. Indeed, he had expected the budget to be cut in the Supervisor's office. The Republican-dominated County Council usually approves whatever Supervisor Lawrence Roos requests.

Since the state provided funds on a matching basis, only \$30,000 came out of county funds. This amount represented approximately what had actually been spent the year before, as they had overspent the budget. About 5,000 people had been served, an expense of about \$6 per person per year. The increase of 3,000 recipients justified an increase in expenditure, and a really effective program would require more. However, Montone resigned at about this time and was replaced by Bill Hennessey. The former commodities supervisor had already been dismissed and replaced by Charles Droke. Neither Hennessey nor Droke was familiar with the program, and neither wanted to begin his new job by challenging the County Council or Supervisor Roos on the budget. So if a fight was to be made, it was up to the Task Force to make it.

Organizations which were represented on the committee wrote letters to Roos. Delegates met with Roos' budget director and his human relations commissioner. Others met with or called their county councilmen. Finally, Hennessey and Droke agreed to appeal the budget before the Council. One result of all this was that Supervisor Roos, as well as the two Democratic councilmen, John O'Hara and Maurice Osborne, visited the distribution center at Lambert Field for the first time since taking office. The committee also made a direct appeal to the Council.

The results were limited. Supervisor Roos announced that funds had been made available to hire one additional staff member. Small success, indeed, but at least more than would have been obtained had the effort not been made.

### The Push in the City

Efforts to improve the food stamp program in the city were even less successful in terms of immediate goals, but perhaps more successful in the long run. Many of the same problems existed that were uncovered in the commodities program. There was one certification office and one issuance office, creating difficulties of transportation, and the same long lines of waiting recipients. In cooperation with the Yeatman Community Center, a pilot program for their district was proposed. The program was to include issuance of food stamps in local banks and feature a faster, simpler method of certification.

Agreements were obtained from three local banks. Joe Pollack, the issuance office director, was very reluctant. Had not Bob Higginbotham, the Department of Agriculture representative and a man who from the beginning had demonstrated a genuine concern for the hungry, added his support, Pollack would never have agreed as he ultimately did, however half-heartedly.

Proctor Carter, head of the Department of Welfare, was surprisingly receptive to the proposals. His approval was necessary. He agreed readily to both bank issuance and certification of applicants by Yeatman workers, and also agreed to certify public assistance recipients automatically, since they had all gone through much the same process in applying for welfare grants.

Members of the task force, however, had not counted on the underhandedness of Joe Pollack. He had visited the three participating banks and had convinced them that bank issuance would not be feasible. Despite a valiant last-ditch effort by Géri Binion of Yeatman, including a meeting with bank representatives in which John Kronk, then St. Louis food stamp director, added his support, the bankers could not be persuaded to change their minds. Single-handedly, Pollack had succeeded in keeping food out of the mouths of hundreds of hungry in the city.

While the committee met with initial failure, there are some hopeful signs. As food stamp programs are initiated in various counties in the state, including St. Louis County, bank issuance and automatic certification of welfare recipients are both being adopted, and Proctor Carter has promised that these methods will be adopted in the City as well, when the state takes over the administration of the program there.

### Cost Must Be Lowered

The overriding problem of the food stamp program, the price of the stamps, cannot be corrected at the local level. Cost of the stamps can be lowered only through federal legislation. This is especially difficult because the agriculture committees of both the U.S. House and the U.S. Senate, which control food stamp legislation, are dominated by conservatives opposed to social legislation. The most productive measure introduced in Congress is McGovern's food stamp bill, which would provide that no recipient be required to pay more than 25 per cent of income for the stamps, and that those with the lowest incomes (e.g. a family of four with an income of \$80 a month or less) be issued free stamps. (Previously some recipients had to pay as much as 60 per cent of their incomes for stamps. With the passage of the \$640,000,000 appropriation last year, payments have been reduced to a maximum of about 35 per cent which has already resulted in a dramatic increase in participation in St. Louis.) Under present law no free stamps may be issued, household cleaning products may not be purchased, and no funds are available for outreach or for expansion of the program into the many uncovered counties without it. These limitations would be changed under the \$1.25-billion McGovern bill passed in the Senate last year and now pending in the House.

At this writing, the agriculture committee has not yet reported a bill to the floor, although it is expected to do so soon. Since it is known that the committee is not going to report a liberal bill, the same strategy is planned in the House as was used in the Senate: a bi-partisan coalition of representatives is being formed which will support amendments on the floor, amendments designed to make the legislation comparable to that passed in the Senate.

It is too early to tell whether the hunger campaign, nationally or locally, will produce durable achievements.

One incident seems to epitomize the whole campaign. On the first day of taking applications for commodities at the committee distribution center in Webster, reports were heard that the then commodities supervisor was rude, threatening, and abusive to applicants, particularly blacks. But whenever white members of the committee were around, he was excessively solicitous and patronizing. At the request of Dan Witt, North Webster committee chairman, this writer walked into the old fire station that morning as the supervisor was interviewing a black woman, and sat down. As she told him her age, he slapped the table jovially, exclaimed, "That's my age, too!", and turned, with false heartiness, to shake her hand. She did not smile back. She did not offer her hand, and gave it only reluctantly. Her expression was one of suspicion and muted anger. She did not want fraudulent overtures of friendship from someone who not 15 minutes before had been abusive. She did not want to be used to prove someone else's worth. She wanted to eat, but she wanted a shred of dignity, too. That's what it's all about.

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# *Jailing Without Purpose or Hope* / COURTNEY GOODMAN, JR.

## *Breeding Criminals by Public Subsidy*

The new St. Louis County Correctional Institution at Gumbo (Mo.) is destined to serve as a two-million-dollar reproduction of an archaic jail system. It is a gleaming, modern detention plant designed to replace the dismal tanks that once held 150 prisoners in the County Courthouse. The place will be different but the system will be the same: inmates will not be rehabilitated. They will suffer the same indignities of idleness and despair — although they can enjoy brand new walls. The rate of recidivism will remain the same. The rate of crime will remain the same. The rate of poverty and unemployment in St. Louis County will remain the same. The tax burden will continue to rise. The hurdles faced by police will not be changed because the same people will be in conflict with the law again.

The solution to crime is not merely a new jail and it is not merely "getting tough," it is rehabilitation of law violators. Job training for prisoners will result in easing of the unemployment rate, reduction of the crime rate, and, hopefully, a new sense of human dignity for the socially deprived minor offender of St. Louis County. Poverty as a major cause of crime can be attacked in St. Louis County by such penal reform.

Public costs incurred by our high crime figures will diminish and the plea for "law and order" can be satisfied after all — satisfied by attacking the causes and not simply the symptoms of crime. The author, after consulting with officers of the St. Louis Labor Council on development of a rehabilitation plan, has proposed that the new St. Louis County Correctional Institution be dedicated immediately to a job training program for prisoners susceptible to social reconstruction. This is a new concept and an unprecedented proposal for St. Louis County; the available statistics, however, indicate not only the feasibility but the urgency of such a plan.

A recent study of the inmates at the St. Louis County jail showed that most of the inmates have been the product of unemployment. Aimless, jobless, and unskilled at the time of arrest, 63 per cent of the prisoners had not received a high school education. More than four-fifths of the total jail population either were employed at menial jobs or were totally idle at the time of arrest. It is important to note that 71 per cent of those inmates serving sentences at the jail and not removed to the penitentiary were jobless at the time of entrance. And 85 per cent of the sentenced group were either unemployed or laboring at jobs which paid less than \$80.00 a week. Of this group there are about 35 to 40 prisoners under sentence whose average time in the County jail will span a period of four to seven months. It is for this group that the job rehabilitation pro-

gram should be initiated. These men have been convicted of crimes against property and they have the potential to be trained for skilled jobs.

Prisoners at the Correctional Institution could be tested and evaluated for job potential by the jail administrator. For the expected 35 or 40 candidates for job rehabilitation, daily training classes should be held. There is ample space at the new building for such activities. A 90-day course in each of three trades, which could be determined by the Labor Council, should be the initial goal. This would result in manageable daily sessions attended by about one dozen inmates. Instructors could be provided by the labor movement. The cooperation of labor is vitally important and the plan cannot succeed without its approval.

Original costs of the program could be borne by industry, which would provide job training equipment, and by labor, which would supply the training personnel. Implementation of the plan would cost the public nothing. Ideally, the expiration of an inmate's term need not conclude his participation in the program. Management and labor would cooperate in continued training and job placement of the former prisoner. Instead of doing nothing in a cell, the prisoner would have begun to learn a trade with prospects of a job upon release. His rehabilitation will mean a job and position within the social structure. Chances of further criminal activity will be negligible.

This program would fight crime by attacking the unemployment and hopelessness which often underlies crime. Some of the poor in St. Louis County could be offered an alternative to welfare and imprisonment.

Implementation of the plan should decrease the unemployment rate, and thus save on expenditures for welfare. By its reduction of crime, particularly among our youth, it should save additional county tax dollars which might be spent for other services.

The reform in jail administration should be the beginning of a new day in law enforcement. The jail system should be used to eliminate poverty itself.

*Courtney Goodman, Jr., is a former Assistant Attorney General of Missouri; chief trial lawyer of Criminal Division; former First Assistant Prosecuting Attorney of St. Louis County; graduate of Prosecuting Attorneys' School of Northwestern University; member of the American Academy of Political and Social Science; and a former faculty member of University of Missouri Law Enforcement Institute.*

## The Caste System Keeps the Poor in Place / OLIVER W. GERLAND, JR.

Little has been said about the poor in Missouri's 109 rural counties — even less than about the poor in the six urban counties. They are hidden much better than the urban poor. Hidden so well that some of the poor do not know themselves that they are poor. They are caught up in a quasi-feudal caste system that robs them of all hope, dignity, and help.

Missouri is politically very conservative and remains dominated by rural politicians who dub themselves Democrats.

Annual per-capita income ranks respectably — eleventh in the nation. But welfare benefits are a disaster: Old Age Assistance — thirty-seventh in the nation, Aid to Dependent Children — forty-first in the nation. The *maximum* a child and mother can receive in benefits under ADC is \$98 (until last summer \$76) per month. The *average* benefit to ADC recipients is \$35.53 per month.

### The “deserving” and “undeserving” Poor

Each part of the state has its peculiarities. Generally, there are three types of rural poor. There are the resident poor in the tradition of the town drunk or the village idiot: white, family in the community at least two generations, the role of resident poor fully accepted. Within this class, however, there are two distinct levels: the deserving poor and the undeserving poor.

The “deserving” resident poor are the aged, the seriously ill, or those who do the best they can with what they have. They do not complain. They are eternally grateful to all the neighbors and to God — perhaps in that order — for what they have. That is quite natural for people whose immediate concern and consciousness are with physical survival. The father works at odd jobs, perhaps as a farm hand. He takes any menial task. His benefactor-employer pays \$1 per hour. His children stay in line. They do not embarrass the community. The deserving resident poor have a middle-class value system and see themselves as being middle class. But economically and socially they are in the poor minority, in the lower class.

The “undeserving” resident poor are the unwed or deserted mothers and the people who do not work. For the unwed or deserted mothers with children the failure to work lowers their status even more. The father-headed family of undeserving resident poor survives with begged cash or doles or handouts. The father probably drinks too much. The whole family is a “disgrace” to the community. No one is allowed to play with the children. Some members of the family were perhaps born out of wedlock and, well, everyone knows the whole family is immoral. And they tend to play their role. An example of the undeserving resident poor comes from a south-central county. Two young men, both mentally retarded and quite limited, were doing odd jobs for merchants and farmers at very inadequate wages. They both applied for and received \$75 a month in disability assistance — both were found to be unemployable in the usual sense due to mental retardation. One of the young men stopped doing odd jobs and menial work. The other continued to work. The community saw the first as undeserving and the second as deserving.

The undeserving resident poor have been poor and no good for generations. People still talk about how grampaw used to receive relief during the depression. When the *good* people of the community try to help by giving old clothing or offer a day's work, the undeserving poor are not in the least grateful. Generally, the whole family is thought to be dumb. There is no hope for them. They are lazy, shiftless; they drink. They go to school when they are young. But everyone knows they are dumb, including the teacher. She treats them accordingly. The children drop out soon or are kicked out. Relieved of the bother, the teacher can use her time more profitably with the children who are not so pathetically dumb.

The third type of rural poor is the Black who comes north to find a better life. Of course, he dares not enter many counties. Where he is tolerated, he probably lives out of town. Some towns still practice the old sundown laws: Don't let the sun go down on your head in this town, nigger! He will have difficulty making a living wage. There is no income supplement available. If he cannot make enough, he might leave his home so that the family can get welfare. The family eats poorly. They live in less than sub-standard housing. Perhaps the greatest indignity of all is that the black migrant is discriminated against and looked down upon and humiliated even by the undeserving resident poor in the community — perhaps most of all by the undeserving resident poor.

### The Rural Caste System

The rural, quasi-feudal caste system works like this. One or two wealthy men control the community economically and socially. They are landowners who have large farms. They hire the poor at starvation wages. No need to over-mechanize or automate, unless the poor do not stay in line — always a threat! It is *quasi-feudal* and not simply feudal, because an important element is missing: the wealthy landowners do not protect their serfs or worry about providing for them.

After the one or two wealthiest come the merchants and businessmen who also hire at low wages and charge at high prices. Then come the small farmers who are very close to being resident poor, if not one of their number. Somehow they maintain their heads barely above water. Next come the deserving resident poor who have been trying to make it, but everyone knows they cannot. It is their station in life to be “the poor,” and they accept their role. Some very few of the poor do make it. Usually, they are the children who have enough self-confidence — in spite of their teachers — or drive — in spite of menial tasks and low wages — to leave the community and make it in the city. There are always those who go to the city thinking they might be able to make it. When they fail, they return to their rural homes. Next come the undeserving resident poor. On the bottom of the scale are the black migrants. They can never qualify for resident poor — deserving or undeserving — even if they live there for years. Their insurmountable burden is beyond will to change: they are Black and the community is racist.

The leading citizens who maintain the quasi-feudal grip

on the poor are the same ones who complain about the government giving "their" tax money to the lazy, shiftless people. Their children (many of them lazy and shiftless) go to state supported schools and universities. They are paid by the U.S. Department of Agriculture soil bank for not planting acres that could easily maintain impoverished, landless Blacks.

The grocer complains. The poor only pay part of their bills once a month. Their brats steal. (Others' "children pilfer.") So the grocer feels justified in adding a carrying charge to their bills (never paid in full). The full accounts, per cent of interest, and "miscellaneous" charges are never completely divulged.

The pastor or parson sees it all. He pities the poor, because — after all — he is paid to pity the poor. But he cannot say too much — well — because it would upset the old reliable, faithful churchgoers (i.e., heavy contributors). And that is how the wealthiest also control the church, potentially the most revolutionary association of citizens. And meanwhile the welfare office keeps a watchful eye, always looking over their shoulder to see that the poor do not misuse the assistance (something less than \$70 per month, as a rule) and that the poor do not earn too much (cheat the government by working).

Everyone in the community knows the poor's business. They are trapped in a role which they must either accept or go mad. After a while they do adjust and might even enjoy the role. Poverty can become a way of life from generation to generation. The most influential churchgoers (the rich) control the message of Christ, the message that could turn around the plight of debtor and the poor at the expense of "property rights," or "rightful claims," or recourse to litigation. The message of Christ is distorted to perpetuate and maintain an inhuman system by the preaching of quietism and obedience to higher powers (the rich), of patience now and hope in heaven.

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## **The Near Poor of Kansas City: Officially Ignored**

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And so another threat is felt by the area, the threat of plans being made for them by people who don't understand the area and who will not have to stay around if the plans fall through. The people on the Southwest side are seen as nomads who threaten the "culture" with their social plans but who don't understand the threat to a "culture" because they themselves have no "culture." A common term to describe the people on the Southwest side was "four flushers," defined as one who is a phony, who engages in trickery, hypocrisy, one who cannot be trusted, and has little sense of "honor." Proof given of "four flushing" is that most of the programs are planned and executed by those from the Southwest side of the city, that those plans include social change but no help for the Northeast and East. The ultimate proof is that while the Southwest planners are worried about the social conscience and contributions to human relations of other people no strong plans are made to implement social change for the Southwest area.

The actual confrontation on the borders of these areas, shaping the thinking of the near poor, might actually be a clash of "cultures." The Black and the affluent liberal are seen as much as threats to a generational way of life than as threats to physical aspects of the area. The secondhand information residents get on "Soul," black life styles, black

nationalism, "soul music," food, etc., and their perception of the impact of this life style on their own, probably comprises the real root of the problem.

An analogous situation was that which developed between many of the Blacks in New York's Harlem when they ran into the different life styles of Puerto Ricans. Another possible analogy might be in contrasting the life styles of those in the Southwest area of Kansas City and those from the Northeast and East. The perceived "easier" and "louder" life styles of the people on the Northeast and East sides, as well as differences in topics of interest and ideas, would make the people in the Southwest of Kansas City quite anxious if large contingents of ethnic Americans and near poor began to move into their "Middle-Class Urban Village." The "freer fists," "freer language," and lower achievement of the children of the near poor might also induce some panic reactions on their part.

The question of assistance for the near poor should be reexamined immediately. For example, need there be the continuing policy of "target areas?" Why should a stable area be allowed to deteriorate when the long time retired residents no longer have the funds to keep up their homes? Why can't assistance be given directly to those who need the assistance? And finally, could not the total metropolitan area be structured to function in a supportive fashion for poor and near poor? The problems of both groups have their roots in the large scale social and residential changes of the past two decades which have changed the central city, drained much revenue from city to suburbs, and created a situation for the city in which it is almost forced to ignore the near poor.

The plights of areas such as East and Northeast cannot afford to be ignored any longer. Target areas or no target areas the people need help. It takes new thought, new legislation, and no foreign interventionism to bring some amount of equity and we will need to begin immediately.

It is not that other areas should receive less. It is not that those on the lowest rung of the economic ladder should share their limited resources with their brethren one or two rungs above them. It is mandatory, however, that military and expansionist adventures cease and that the consequent reallocations of federal resources also benefit the near poor.

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## **CIVIL WAR**

For home and den, suitable for framing. Any item of your choice \$1.00 each. Pony Express Notice; Gen. Robert E. Lee Funeral Notice; Confederate decoding chart; Anti-Lincoln Cartoon; Jefferson Davis Election Notice; President Johnson impeachment ticket; Army orders on President Lincoln Assassination; Army Discharge Certificate; Gold Mining Stock Certificate; Draft Exemption Certificate; \$1,000 Reward for Gen. Morgan; Slave Dealer Poster; Confederacy Law of Treason Poster; Recruiting Poster; Abolitionist handbill; Underground Railroad Poster; List of slaves for sale; K.K.K. Notice of new organization; Uncle Toms Cabin Poster; \$500 Reward for runaway Slave; Civil War Recruits Handbill; Lynching Poster; Slave Auction woodcut; Civil War handbill for Brooks Pat; Richmond Fredericksburg & Potomac Railroad Notice; Civil War Ambulance woodcut; Slave Chins Devices; General Orders Headquarters department of the South; Confederate Soldier woodcut; Horses wanted Notice; Calamity Jane handbill; Buffalo Bill Poster; Annie Oakley Poster; Reward Posters — Billy the Kid; Jesse James; Frank James; Francisco Pancho Villa; Joaquin; Belle Starr; John Wilkes Booth; The Daltons; Black Bart; Bill Doolin.

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# Block Partnership: Paternalism or Self-Help?

J. STEPHEN HOADLEY

In 1967 the President's Commission on Civil Disorder reported the emergence of two Americas, one white, comfortable and suburban, the other black, poor, and trapped in decaying inner cities. Subsequent studies have confirmed the Commission's observations and further, have indicated that the gap between the two Americas is widening.

Attempting to bridge the suburb-city gap in St. Louis is a unique, private, and voluntary program called Block Partnership. This program, which originated in St. Louis, brings ghetto "block groups" together with suburban "resource groups" to form partnerships. Each partnership harnesses the financial, technical, and managerial resources of the suburban participants to the felt needs and desire for neighborhood improvement of the ghetto residents; the result is a team in which all members, white and black, rich and poor, work as equals to formulate neighborhood goals and carry them out. Now over thirty partnerships are functioning, about half in residential neighborhoods and half in public housing project buildings.

Block Partnership is two and one-half years old. If new partnerships can be created at the present rate of one a month, the number of people involved will double, then triple in coming years. The amount of inter-racial and inter-class contact will increase. And so will ghetto self-confidence and suburban helpfulness. Increased interpersonal contact will help to bridge the gap that now separates the suburbs from the inner city, a gap whose economic, psychological, and racial dimensions are more serious than the geographic one. Thus Block Partnership's unique bridge building effort deserves attention and encouragement not only from St. Louisans but also from residents of all cities whose ghettos and suburbs are drifting apart.

## Origins and Funding

The idea of organizing partnerships between inner city and suburban groups was conceived and developed by the staff of the St. Louis Model City Agency in the autumn of 1967. Former Director Donald Bourgeois and his staff received initial support for their idea from the Metropolitan Church Federation, and as the idea evolved into action its supporters grew to include Frank H. Leeming, Sr., of the *Post-Dispatch*, Dr. Leigh Gerdine of Washington University, and the pastors of St. Peter's AME Church and Des Peres Presbyterian Church. Citizens were recruited to serve on a Board of Directors and on May 31, 1968, Block Partnership, Inc., was officially registered as a non-profit corporation with Dr. Gerdine as the first Chairman of the Board.

The first four partnerships were formed in June, and by August Block Partnership had received \$75,000 in grants from the Danforth Foundation, the Gaylord Foundation, and the Post-Dispatch Foundation. In April 1969, the Beaumont Foundation contributed \$10,000, and the Danforth Foundation has continued its support for a second year.

It should be noted that Block Partnership has operated for two and one-half years, both at the city level and the

neighborhood level without using a penny of public money (with the possible exception of the use of space in public school buildings). All salaries, operating expenses, materials, and services are donated by private foundations, churches, business establishments, and individuals, including the time and talents expended voluntarily by professional men and women and by neighborhood residents in particular activities. One of the most valuable resources of the resource group members is their ability to solicit contributions from St. Louis businesses, notably generous advertising services by the *Post-Dispatch* and George Savan Advertising Agency.

## Who Meets Whom

Preparing groups for pairing into partnerships is a time-consuming and careful process. Potential resource groups undergo a total of four training sessions before being brought together with the block group. Block groups have six sessions. Elapsed time from initial to final pairing is from two to five months, during which time groups get to know each other, organize themselves, elect officers, and undergo orientation exercises designed to sensitize them to contact with the partner group. Resource groups must start with a minimum of \$1000 and have plans to raise \$2000 more. Block groups must decide among themselves what goals they would like to tackle with the help of the resource group. Money-raising, organizing, and priority-setting have stopped many groups; only half the groups progress beyond the first training session; for every group advanced, another group drops out.

Once paired, partnership groups set to work on their "priorities" or goals set by the block group. Committees for each priority, established during training, are activated, with membership divided 50-50 between resource and block groups.

Priorities adopted by the partnerships depend on the type of block involved. Residential blocks typically focus on clean-up of alleys and vacant lots, conversion of vacant lots into vest-pocket parks, and painting and repair of selected residences in the block. Public housing blocks typically focus on building security, building repair, painting and clean-up, creation of recreation or community rooms, and installation of laundry machines. Both types of partnerships have explored such projects as providing employment for residents, infant and child care for working mothers, tutoring for students, and creating small commercial enterprises.





### To Make Life Tolerable

While the specific goals of each partnership vary depending on felt needs of the neighborhood residents, the over-all goals of the program are fairly consistent. The most explicit and immediate goal is physical uplift of the neighborhood environment. As former Board Chairman Gerdine has stated, "The first need is for the financial, physical and environmental resources essential for a more decent and tolerable day-to-day existence."

But physical uplift is in the long run subordinate to the goal of building pride, unity, and strength in the ghetto. Concrete improvements, wrote former Director Garnett Henning, lead to "the desire for self-determination," and "a new sense of united strength." A Block Partnership brochure states that the program assists inner city groups "to have a stronger voice in the decisions which effect their personal and community life." Thus the creating of independent organizations in the ghetto for residents' self-help is a second goal of Block Partnership.

The third over-all goal of Block Partnership is to build bridges of sympathy and cooperation between the suburbs

and the inner city ghetto and between white people and black people. Dr. Gerdine writes of the need for "increased awareness, understanding, and sympathy of white people concerning the problems of their black brothers." Rev. Henning writes of his desire to "reverse the growing polarity between black and white, poor and the affluent, the inner city and suburbia, the powerless and the powerful." The following paragraphs review the progress of Block Partnership toward its three goals: environmental improvement, creation of ghetto organizations for self-help, and stimulation of interpersonal contact.

### Does It Work?

Three environmentally related projects deserve special mention. The first, the hiring of a resident manager for the MLK Apartments, was accomplished by a contract negotiated by the building's partnership and the Housing Authority. The former, backed by the resources of the Des Peres Presbyterian Church, pays about one-third of the resident manager's salary while the Housing Authority pays the balance. All parties are satisfied that the manager's presence contributes greatly to the physical security, maintenance level, and cleanliness of the building and to the psychological security of the residents. The building is now a desirable place to live; no apartments are vacant and tenants from other Cochran buildings have expressed a desire to move in.

Second, a part-time school was created by the St. Michael & St. George Episcopal Church, 14th and 15th Street Partnership. Organized in February 1969 in the old Dumas School building, it enlisted the aid of the Association of Black Collegians as teachers. Attendance at Saturday sessions has averaged one hundred. During the summer of 1969 it was expanded to a full-time, six-week summer school and located at Carr School. A Danforth Foundation grant and continued church support provided food and field trips in addition to academic and remedial instruction. In the fall it reverted to a Saturday "fun school."

Third, a day care center was created in March 1969 by Our Lady of Lourdes Church and 4100 block of Westminster Avenue Partnership. The center provides care and meals and activities for thirty-five neighborhood pre-school children of working mothers. A certified teacher, Sister Helen Joseph, has donated her services as Director; the U.S. Department of Agriculture is supplying food, the St. Louis Board of Education is supplying the building, and Our Lady of Lourdes Church is contributing \$500 monthly for expenses.

There is a hidden pay-off to partnerships engaged in environmental projects: city and housing project services increase in promptness and effectiveness. Garbage collection, street cleaning, and project building maintenance are reported to be more regular since Block Partnership began activities. Cochran Project Manager Jack Saunders, questioned on this point by the author, agreed that it was true. He explained that his office makes a special attempt to dispatch

### A Wider View

The Block Partnership idea has been picked up by a dozen other cities, including Dallas, Indianapolis, Minneapolis, Atlanta, Columbus, Ohio, and Lynchburg, Virginia. There can be no doubt that any plan for low-cost, self-help projects in ghettos is appealing to cities in similar situations as St. Louis.

Experience shows, however, that some central organization is always needed to coordinate and communicate with groups, to iron out difficulties, and to encourage and publicize activities. Only rarely do purely voluntary and decentralized reform programs survive the first year or two of enthusiasm; when the novelty wears off, full-time, paid leaders are needed to guide the program forward and to stimulate lagging participants. The fact that in St. Louis most of the resource groups come from churches, already organized for other purposes and led by paid pastors, illustrates the fact that partnerships seldom spring up spontaneously.

In St. Louis the original Block Partnership is in trouble. Its modest funding has been further reduced and its staff cut to three full-time people. Economies have been introduced, including simultaneous training sessions for several prospective partnerships, and training of prospective partnerships by existing partnerships. A new technique of "community building," which links together several blocks in common projects, has been initiated. If these new techniques are successful, the program may become self-renewing with a minimum of organizational overhead. Co-directors William Archibald and Charles Ackerson are confident that their Block Partnership program has reached a "take-off" stage and can be almost self-sustaining from now on.

Thus the St. Louis experiment in private, decentralized reform should be watched with sympathy, for if it survives and grows, it may point the way to new methods of linking suburbs and inner cities. In this respect, it must be noted with regret that the United Fund turned down the Block Partnership for funding.

project cleanup and maintenance workers to buildings engaged in self-help. In the allotment of scarce manpower, he indicated "he tended to give priority to buildings whose residents not only reported damages quickly but also attempted to keep damage by vandalism to a minimum." Whatever the reason, the results are real; by walking through public housing projects one can pick out Block Partnership buildings by their unbroken windows, secure doors, painted interior halls, and clean appearance.

### Organization for Self-Help

Before Block Partnership entered the ghetto, the typical resident was served by no specifically neighborhood-based organization. Human Development Corporation's fourteen Community Gateway Center agencies with local boards attempted to engage the local resident but the typical center, serving 10,000 people on the average, remained distant to all but a small proportion. The Human Development Corporation, and city, county, state, federal, and charitable agencies, no matter what their laudable intentions, tend to treat the individual as a recipient of pre-packaged services, reinforcing his sense of powerlessness and consequent apathy. Even housing project tenant councils, though physically close to residents, tend to be attended by few and to be relatively ineffective in mobilizing resident activity.

Block Partnership, on the other hand, has created small decision-making units which are both close to the resident and under his control. Further, the results of decisions are visible to all members of the unit in a manner that, for example, job training or medical care or schooling for one person is not.

The average partnership elects about eight block residents and eight resource group members as officers and committee chairmen. These eight persons consult other residents and group members, organize meetings, set priorities, arrange workdays; they spend between \$1000 and \$3000 yearly. While resource group members participate jointly, they are careful not to dominate; they consciously try to adapt themselves to both the goals and methods of the block group. Thus block residents are initiated into the processes of planning, organizing, bargaining, and evaluating that characterize self-help activities. In so doing, they gain not only organizational skills but also confidence in their ability to improve their environment.

To date, some 280 ghetto residents have served as officers and committee chairmen, an additional 400 have participated in work projects, and as many as 5,000 residents of over thirty partnership areas have seen or experienced the concrete results of partnership efforts. Thus the value of organization for self-help is impressed upon residents of ghetto neighborhoods.

### Interpersonal Contact

Interpersonal contact accomplishments refer to the increased face-to-face mixing of middle-class white, and suburban people with poor, black, and inner-city people. All partnerships provide opportunities for at least four types of interpersonal contact. Planning meetings bring up to sixteen people face-to-face with persons of different racial and environmental backgrounds. Special projects require a resource and block group member to work together over a period of time to accomplish a specific goal such as repairing a lock or installing a security screen. Workdays bring up to 100 people together for several hours to work on a common, highly visible task such as painting or trash removal. And block picnics or luncheons bring an equal number of persons of diverse backgrounds into contact in a social setting.

Secondary contact further spreads the impact of the primary contact, that is, partnership participants discuss their

## PARTNERSHIP PROJECTS

The list below records the projects undertaken by partnerships in their efforts to upgrade both the physical and social aspects of the neighborhood environment.

<b>Physical Improvement Projects</b>	Insect extermination, internal and external
General Painting	Provision of tools for use in block workshop
Window repair	Provision of furniture, toys, equipment for community and recreation rooms
Elevator repair	Playground equipment repair
Lock installation	
Security screen installation	<b>Social Improvement Projects</b>
Laundry room preparation	Operation of day care center
Laundry machine installation	Tutoring and school operation
Community room preparation	Hiring of project guard
Placement of door numbers	Hiring of resident manager
Placement of trash cans	Rummage sales
Alley clean-up	Outings for children
Vacant lot clean-up	Partnership social events
Interior clean-up	Search for jobs
Work on vest-pocket park	Assistance in medical care
Derelict car removal	Adoption of tenant rules
Landscaping and tree trimming	Purchase of walkie-talkies for residents' security patrol
Mailbox replacement	
Installation of new stoves and refrigerators in tenants' apartments	

The above list represents a total of over 150 environmental improvement projects engaged in by over thirty partnerships, or an average of five projects per partnership. It is estimated that 80 per cent of these projects are now completed. Several partnerships, having completed their original priorities, are moving into a new set of priorities; for example, the M. L. King Apts./Des Peres Presbyterian Church Partnership is creating small businesses in the Cochran Project building, including a telephone answering and date reminder service; a snow cone machine, a candy store, and a raffle have been discussed. This highly successful partnership is already netting about \$100 a month from laundry, candy, and drink machines in the building.

experiences with their family and friends. Thus, if one suburbanite or one inner-city resident discovers that members of the other group "are human, too," the discovery is relayed to several others. So if a total of fifty persons in each partnership make significant contact with persons of the opposite group sometime during the year and relay their experience to just one other person, Block Partnerships at present size can provide a total of over 3000 people with significant primary and secondary inter-racial and inter-class contact experiences.

While the number of hours spent and the number of persons involved in Block Partnership action are small when compared with the amount of contact occurring throughout the city every day, note that Block Partnership contact has special qualities: participants are interacting on an equal basis to accomplish common goals; suburbanites are leaving their distant surroundings and are obliged to see problems through the eyes of ghetto residents. Ghetto residents, correspondingly, see white suburbanites not as bosses or managers of opulent households, but as individuals tackling an organizational or environmental problem.

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# *The Limit — 500 Million* / RICHARD A. WATSON AND PHILIP M. SMITH

Man is biologically but an infant on earth, having appeared no more than one or two million years ago. Many other species have survived for many millions of years. Why not man? Will the earth's most distinctive living species fulfill its biological potential, or will mankind soon become extinct?

If mankind is to survive it must maintain a healthy breeding population in ecological balance with nature. Too few individuals would make chances of survival for the species precarious, and too many would lead to the destruction of the environment or to mass madness brought on by overcrowding. The problem is to determine the optimum population for mankind. This is a biological demand. But since man has also the need and desire to exercise intelligently his capacity for culture, the optimum is determined by a compromise of biological and cultural factors. This means that the ultimate battle between man and nature is within. Each individual finds that cultural regulations restrict the full expression of his biological urges. Far from being deplorable, however, this is the state of self-consciousness that makes us human. And it is consideration of the various ways of integrating biological with cultural demands that gives rise to morality. What is the morally right way for human beings to reproduce, to develop natural resources, and to distribute manufactured goods? In answering this complex question with art and technology, man creates civilization. And the cumulative philosophies of both East and West generally agree that civilization is humane when it provides ways for every individual to obtain the basic necessities of life, and that civilization promotes human dignity when it provides democratic means for each individual to participate in the direction of his own and mankind's destiny. In an ideal civilized state, free men would come to agreement as to the best balance between resources and population size. Having decided on an optimum, they would act voluntarily to maintain a balanced society. Presumably they would consider, beyond the necessities, the desirable amenities of modern life such as rapid communication and transportation, education, books and television and high fidelity music, pleasant homes, superb stadiums, theatres, concert halls, libraries, and restaurants, as well as carefully managed outdoor preserves for picnicking, for the protection of wildlife as well as for hunting and fishing, and for wilderness adventure. These are not simply luxuries; they contribute to the psychological health

of mankind. If people could maintain themselves and the natural environment in ecological balance to these ends, then it is possible that the human species could survive healthy and happy on earth for millions of years.

## Resources Are Being Depleted

How are we doing so far? Badly. Famine, pestilence, and war threaten. To the extent that decisions have been made, mankind is allowing population to grow to a size that cannot be maintained, so that the earth's natural resources are being fast depleted. Those who are favored in the consumer economy have moral anxieties about its wastefulness, while the majority of mankind existing on meager goods is righteously resentful at being left out. There are about 3.5 billion people living on earth today. United Nations statistics show that 1.5 billion are undernourished, and that of these, 500 million are starving. However, 2 billion, more than half the world's population, are properly nourished. But since most men want much more out of life than a proper diet, a United Nations study poses the following question: given the present world-wide industrial and agricultural capacity, technological development, and resource exploitation, how many people could be supported on earth today with the standard of living of the average American? The answer is just 500 million. This means that to make it possible for all individuals on earth to enjoy the standard of living of the average American today *with present production*, the world's population would have to be reduced to 1/7 of its present size, from 3.5 billion to 500 million people.

Obviously the most humane goal of mankind is the improvement of the human lot. Can life be made better for everyone without wholesale population reduction? Perhaps a population of 3.5 billion could be maintained on earth if all food and goods were equitably distributed. It is generally believed, however, that *with present production*, equitable distribution would leave everyone in a state of poverty and malnutrition, such that even the present rate of production could not be continued, let alone improved. So equitable distribution to a population of the present size is not the answer. However, that 2 billion people are properly nourished on earth today does suggest that more than 500 million could lead happy, productive lives. The way of life of the average American is obviously ostentatious and wasteful in many ways. By doing away with excesses, it

might seem possible *with present production* to maintain as many as one billion people at a standard of living of high quality, if not on a level of today's average American. But it is very doubtful that present production can be continued because of resource depletion. We believe, therefore, that the present drive to increase production will not help to provide a happy life for billions on earth. Let us examine why the present production rate, let alone an increased production schedule, cannot be maintained indefinitely.

The world's present technology is almost entirely based on extracting concentrated resources from the earth, processing them, and using them in such a way that the useful elements are dispersed so widely as waste products that we cannot — with our present technology — reuse them. For example, when we burn coal and oil, we obtain energy, but we disperse great concentrations of hydrocarbons into the atmosphere. This not only wastes resources that have more valuable uses than as fuel, but also adds to the atmosphere substances harmful to mankind and destructive of the natural environment. Similarly, from ore deposits concentrated over millions of years we refine metals that after use are in large part dispersed as nonrecoverable waste. The earth is finite, and so are its concentrated resources. Whether the present rate of extractive and dispersive exploitation is maintained, increased, or reduced, resources will be used up eventually, and the environment will be perhaps irretrievably polluted by waste products long before the human species lives out its biological potential.

### Technology is a Failure

The only way to continue to use our present technology or to increase greatly its rate of production is to develop means to extract needed raw materials from bedrock and sea water. Along with farming the sea, bedrock and sea water refineries using atomic or solar energy are favorite topics of science fiction and Sunday supplement writers, politicians, and propagandists. The facts are, however, that these possibilities are largely dreams. Any regular reader of *Science*, published by the American Association for the Advancement of Science, knows that the research and development necessary for such technological advancements can hardly be said to have begun. A basic reason is that these problems are very difficult and expensive to solve, and their solutions even more difficult and expensive to apply on a large scale. Nevertheless, faith continues in the belief that science will save us, that easy and cheap and practical ways will be found to exploit new sources of energy, resources, and food. Thus it is claimed, we will be able to support the present world population and burgeoning billions to come.

Of course, there is an aesthetic objection to this scheme. Mankind may not want to see the mountains eaten and the seas swallowed simply to allow billions of men to subsist elbow to elbow on mountains of recycled garbage and waste. But besides this, the dream is fatally flawed. First, any advanced technology of extraction must be developed on the *present* technological base of production. The present technology is already a failure; it continues to fall behind in its ability to support the increasing world population. Before conversion and expansion can be accomplished to support the coming 7 or 14 billion people on earth, the capacity would have to be developed to support the 3.5 billion who are here now. This is becoming increasingly difficult to do. Technological "breakthroughs" such as virile wheat are described even by optimists only as means of "buying time." There is not enough for everyone. The dreamers who say that science will save us with new inventions and techniques for production are like people who stand in a heavy rain on a pile of clay talking loftily of the brick castle they will build, while the water washes the

ground from under their feet. Their only hope would be in beginning to build at once. As for mankind on earth, population is dangerously close to a size that will make it impossible to survive. Famine and pestilence resulting from overpopulation in this age of atomic, biological, and chemical war could lead to the extinction of the human species.

The second flaw in the dream relates to distribution. Without belief or assurance that the present rate or an increased rate of production could provide adequately for the 3.5 billion people on earth, production managers arrange self-protective and self-perpetuating institutions of exploitation, production, and trade designed to insure the unequal distribution of goods. This is not necessarily to be condemned. As a practical matter where there are limited goods, unequitable distribution is necessary to survival. It would, for example, be species suicide to distribute all available food equitably today. These are hard facts. But even harder is the fact that before the coming 7 or 14 billion people on earth could be supported, the present distribution system would have to be converted to one that supplies the 3.5 billion now on earth. But even if we had the resources and the techniques for exploiting them, we could not increase our production fast enough to keep up with increasing population. The total effect of dwindling resources plus production that decreases proportional to population size leads to increased protectionism of inequitable distribution systems.

### Births Must Be Reduced

To avoid disaster — given individual needs and the present world-wide state of technology, production, and distribution — the present world population must somehow and soon be stabilized at a size much lower than now exists. Population size *will* be reduced somehow, because the present imbalance is too extreme to be maintained much longer. The alternative to hundreds of millions of people dying because of famine, pestilence, and war is for mankind to decide at once to reduce the human population on earth. This can be done most humanely by decreasing the birth rate below that of the natural death rate until a population size that can be supported on earth is reached. We believe that if everyone is to have a good and healthy life, population should be stabilized at about 500 million.

Given how urgent is the need for immediate population reduction, some observers worry about the initial imbalances among age groups that will result. The only answer is that mankind will just have to cope with such imbalances for a few generations in order to survive. Mankind is, in fact, attempting to cope with such an imbalance right now, one result of the population explosion being that the percentage of young people on earth is greater than it has ever been before.

Three immediate developments, then, are necessary to save mankind as a species on earth. First, some form of world government such as a universal United Nations must be established so that mankind can consider himself as a species and manage himself as a whole. A world-wide educational program is needed to convince the people of the world of the necessity of programs to bring population and resources into ecological balance, and this can be accomplished only with international cooperation.

Second, effective techniques of birth control must be developed that are so exquisite, effective, and easy to apply that their practical value alone will recommend them to most people. The only other possible way of averting ecological disaster is the morally undesirable imposition of birth control on involuntary subjects by a totalitarian government. But this would destroy the very civilized values that make the human species worth preserving.

One can hope that the power elite of the world — the

leaders of government, business, industry, and the military — will see the need of planned world cooperation for the good of the human species, and thus form a world government. And then one can hope that these leaders will see the need for population reduction, and undertake it in the fairest and most humane way possible. We fear, however, that the need will not be acted on — whether seen earlier or not — until famine, pestilence, and war strike a large proportion of the world's people. If this occurs it is possible that one of the major national powers will then impose totalitarian control over the rest of the world. And if overpopulation is seen to be the cause of the world's ills, those who rule a world government by conquest will probably reduce the world's population efficiently, but not necessarily in the fairest and most humane way.

To avoid the nightmare of racial and religious genocide, the third thing necessary to make it possible for the human species to survive in a civilized state on earth for millions of years is the development of a new technology of equilibrium that recycles resources rather than dispersing them wastefully. It is most probable that a recycling technology on the present resource base would result in fewer consumer goods than are now produced, because of the conservation techniques that would have to be imposed. Thus, to return to the United Nations figure, the new technology could not support 500 million people indefinitely at a standard of living of today's average American, but it could probably support that number at a lesser standard that still provides a high quality life for each individual.

500 million people is a reasonable world population figure, even for a science fiction future when solar energy is harnessed and practical techniques are developed for extracting useful elements from bedrock and sea water. For as we said above, besides the mere goal of being in ecological balance with nature so that everyone can enjoy the basic necessities and amenities of life, mankind desires a viable development of human culture. It is clear that huge populations curtail many possibilities of individual and social freedom and development. In mass social institutions, uniform techniques of control are necessary. People cannot be treated as individuals, and they become dehumanized. A simple and rational solution to many of the problems of mass society, then, is to have population stabilized at such size that each person can be treated as an individual. The problems that could in part be solved this way are staggering. Let us list a few: parking, unemployment, juvenile delinquency, racketeering, anomie. Please do not misunderstand: we are not raving utopians. There would still be problems. Kids might kick bums to death in parks at night for thrills, and some people would continue to harm and to cheat others. All we are suggesting is that if there were radically fewer people, then there would be not only radically fewer problems, but also these problems would be of a size and order easier to contend with and to solve than are those deriving from present overpopulated mass society. With a smaller population, human needs and capacities could better be accounted for.

### Limited Goods Imposes Immorality

Moral decisions would also be easier to make if there were fewer people on earth, living in ecological balance with nature. For the good of all mankind, it would then be apparent that large portions of the earth should be maintained in natural conditions, and that some presently worn-out lands should be restored to make them useful again. It would be possible then to plan cities, towns, and farms that best fit the natural environment. Morality today is sidelined in the name of survival. For example, something over 200 million people in the United States are said to use from 50 to 65% of the resources being extracted in the world today.

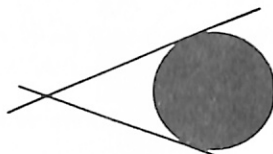
The Western World — North America, Europe, and Russia — about a billion people — is said to consume as much as 85% of the total goods being produced. This means that the remaining 2.5 billion people on earth are being sustained on as little as 15% of what is produced. Now sources for these figures vary. Local agricultural and craft produce is not adequately accounted for, and we have quoted extremes. Nevertheless, it can be argued that it is morally wrong for a minority of wealthy and powerful people to maintain this imbalance. Yet, the maintenance of this immoral situation is imposed because there are not goods enough in the world for equitable distribution. As earlier remarked, it would be species suicide if the world's goods were equitably distributed now; if there were only 500 million people in the world and goods enough for all, equitable distribution of at least the necessities of life would not only be seen as the moral thing to do, it would surely be done.

A stabilized population of 500 million in balance with nature would not result in a uniform, stagnant world. Equal numbers of Caucasoids, Mongoloids, and Negroids would first of all always provide variety. Then there is a great variety of creative work in the arts, sciences, and scholarship, and practical work in production, distribution, and maintenance of the environment. And there are many governmental tasks in the many ways of life that are compatible with one another and with nature. As for worries about human advancement and progress, it is to be remembered that there were about 500 million people on earth during the 17th century, and that century of genius is not noted for lack of accomplishment in either the East or the West. The feasibility of maintaining a high technological civilization on earth with only 500 million men cannot be challenged. There are also many moral and aesthetic reasons for stabilization at this figure. It is only the means of reaching this utopian state that are in question.

Many scientists agree that if mankind does not control resource use and population size, our species is due for disaster. Many people in power are also aware of these facts and predictions. Some of them will act. However, we must not be over-optimistic. Revolutionary measures should have been taken *yesterday* if these problems were to be solved in time to avoid all trouble. It may be utopian to suggest that the power elite will or can take them today. And tomorrow may be too late. Furthermore, history shows that there are always those willing to risk all to grasp wealth and power at the expense of the misery of others, the destruction of the environment, and future generations. So it may be too much to expect good people of great wealth and power to risk their positions for the good of mankind, even if they want to. *Nevertheless* we must work and hope for this course of action, for it is almost our only hope for a moral, humane, and noncatastrophic future for mankind. Otherwise, a terrible "final solution" to the population problem may be imposed.

In conclusion, we must remember that even in the best of circumstances, it will be extremely difficult to stabilize population and to develop the technology to establish mankind in ecologic balance with nature. Any realistic examination of man on earth today shows that he is headed for the cataclysmic disasters of famine, pestilence, and war. We can only hope that it is not too late to save the human species, even if there is a chance that it is too late to save our present civilization. But if strenuous efforts are not made now, then mankind may be lucky if even as many as 500 people survive the 20th century.

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## THE RIGHT WING

An earlier issue of FOCUS/Midwest (Vol. 3, No. 6) carried a "Roster of the Right Wing and Fanatics" describing 45 organizations and its leaders located or active in Missouri and Illinois. The Roster is available at \$1 each. The following regular column keeps the information current.

### AMERICAN PARTY

The American Party in Missouri is no longer an established political party because it has failed to get five per cent of the state-wide vote in the November 1970 general elections ruled Attorney General John C. Danforth. Gene Chapman, the only American Party candidate for state-wide office, received a total of 10,065 votes in his race for the Senate, less than one per cent of the 1,283,312 votes cast. The ruling came after Gerald Fischer of St. Louis, state chairman, tried to file as a candidate for governor in 1972.

### BILL BEENY

Attorney Jerome J. Duff and Rev. Bill Beeny, controversial advocate of many rightist causes, will contest the FCC license of FM radio station KDNA, a St. Louis station without formal programming which has become identified with young people and many of their causes. Duff and Beeny have formed a broadcasting company and filed an application with the FCC. Beeny owns a Colorado radio station and broadcasts a program over 53 stations. (The Colorado station has been off the air since October 1969, after operating only for 6 months. The FCC is conducting hearings into the manner in which Beeny obtained the license.)

Beeny has been embroiled in law suits for many years. At one time he alleged Communist influence at Washington University.

A youth camp operated by Bill Beeny was ordered closed in May 1964 by the Warren County prosecuting attorney, after Beeny had been convicted of operating the institution without a license and of not maintaining minimum standards.

In 1966, Beeny, with strong national support from the John Birch Society, headed up a petition drive calling for investigation of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King and other civil rights leaders. "Investigate Now King and Others" was supported by The White Citizens Council. Kenneth Goff, nationally known right-wing figure and anti-Semite, was co-chairman.

Later, Beeny became active in CROSS (Counter Revolutionary Organization on Salvation and Service) which was established to teach survival "that will include defense

## EDITORIALS

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C. Danforth. This real threat hangs over the Democratic Party of Missouri. To overcome it, the Party must nominate a man of intelligence and integrity, who has shown by his past performance that he can talk issues rather than party loyalty and who is equally respected by black and white voters. Among the gubernatorial candidates, only Preisler qualifies on all of these points.

of the home against possible attack from those so-called civil rights groups." In a seminar conducted for members of the organization, Beeny displayed sawed-off shotguns, loaded revolvers, molotov cocktails, and other weapons.

Next, Beeny was involved in KEY (Keep the Entrance Yours) and featured Selma (Ala.) Sheriff James G. Clark who had arrested and jailed hundreds of Blacks who tried to register in Dallas County in the weeks preceding the Selma-Montgomery 1965 civil rights march. Clark came to St. Louis to support Beeny and the Rev. W. C. Barlow, president of the St. Louis chapter of the White Citizens Council, to oppose fair housing legislation.

### WE, THE PEOPLE!

This year's meeting of We, The People!, held in Phoenix, featured Ezra Taft Benson and Arizona Governor Jack Williams. Others of interest on the program included retired Gen. Robert L. Scott, author of *God Is My Co-Pilot*; Congressman John Rhodes (R-Ariz.); Edward Rowe, Editor of *Christian Economics*; and Alfred Ramirez, arch-foe of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee.

### Patronage Outlawed in Illinois

Last year the Missouri legislature asked the Missouri State Reorganization Commission to study the system under which state employees operate. Recently, the Commission submitted its findings: do away with patronage. The current legislative session will have an opportunity to act on this recommendation.

A shortcut which may have the same result would be the legal route. According to a recent decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals, massive discharges of employees following a change in top elected officials is unconstitutional. In the case of *Shakman et al. v. The Democratic Organization of Cook County et al.*, the Court held that public employees may not be fired, disciplined, or penalized in any way for lawful political activity or for refraining from political activities. Thus firings would be unconstitutional and in violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1870, subjecting the violators to up to ten years in prison and a fine of up to \$10,000.

In Illinois, the Joint Committee to End Patronage Abuse (ACLU, IVI, BGA, and Committee for an Effective City Council) has warned Sheriff Richard Elrod, Treasurer Bernard Korzen, and Secretary of State John L. Lewis, Jr. to comply with the ruling or face legal proceedings. Missourians opposed to patronage should study the court decision.

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